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TABLE-TURNING IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Sir,

There is a passage in the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxix. i. 29—32), containing an account of practices so very like the table-turning and other presumed indications of supernatural agency, of which we have heard so much within the last few years, that I am tempted to extract it for those of your readers who may not already be acquainted with it, though it should serve no other purpose than furnishing a fresh illustration of the old adage, that "there is nothing new under the sun,"—not even in the exhaustless records of human credulity.

In the reign of the emperor Valens, A.D. 371, some Greek cultivators of *theurgy*, who in those days usurped the name of philosophers, were brought to trial for having attempted to ascertain the successor to the throne by magical arts. The small table or tripod (a sort of three-legged stool) which they had used for this purpose, was produced in court; and on being submitted to the torture, they gave the following account of their proceedings. The passage is not without its difficulties, and in some places seems to be corrupt; but the general sense is tolerably clear with a little explanation. That it may be judged how far I have faithfully rendered it, I subjoin the original at the foot.

"We constructed, most venerable Judges, after the likeness of the Delphian tripod, of wands of laurel, under fearful auspices, this small ill-omened table which you behold; and having duly consecrated it by muttering over it secret spells and by many and protracted manipulations, we succeeded at last in making it move. Now, whenever we consulted it about secrets, the process for making it move was as follows. It was placed in the centre of a house which had been purified by Arabian incense on every side,—a round dish, composed of various metallic substances, being with the needful purifications set upon it. On the circular rim of this dish the four-and-twenty characters of the alphabet were cut with much art, placed at equal intervals which had been measured with perfect exactness. A person clad in linen garments, in slippers also made of linen, with a light turban wreathed round his head, and carrying branches of the sacred laurel in his hand,—having propitiated the deity who gives the prognostics, in certain prescribed forms of invocation according to the rules

of ceremonial science,—sets this dish on the top of the tripod, balancing over it a suspended ring, attached to the end of a very fine linen thread and having previously undergone a mystic initiation. This ring, darting out and striking, at distinct intervals, the particular letters that attract it, makes out heroic verses in accordance with the questions put, as complete in mode and measure as those uttered by the Pythoness or the oracles of the Branchidæ. As we were there and then inquiring who should succeed the present emperor, since it was declared he would be a finished character in every respect, and the ring darting out had touched the two syllables ΘΕΟ with the final addition of a letter, some one present exclaimed, that Theodorus was announced as appointed by the decrees of fate. Nor did we pursue our inquiries into the matter any further; for we were all satisfied that Theodorus was the person whom we were asking for."*

There is a little confusion in the foregoing narrative, from intermixture of tenses and a disregard to the order of time, some particulars being anticipated in the general statement at the beginning, which should rather form parts of the subsequent

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* "Construximus, magnifici judices, ad cortinæ similitudinem Delphicæ, diris auspiciis de laureis virgulis infaustam hanc mensulam quam videtis; et imprecationibus carminum secretorum, choragiisque multis ac diuturnis† ritualiter consecratam movimus tandem;‡ movendi autem, quoties super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis. Collocabatur in medio domus emaculatæ odoribus Arabicis undique, lance rotunda pure§ superposita, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefacta: cujus in ambitu rotunditatis extremo elementorum viginti quatuor scriptiles formæ incisæ perite, dijungebantur spatiis examinate dimensis. Hanc‖ linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque itidem linteis soccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felicis arboris gestans, litato conceptis carminibus numine præscitionum auctore, cærimoniali scientia, supersistit cortinulæ,¶ pensilem anulum librans, aptum ex carbasio** filo perquam levi, mysticis disciplinis initiatum: qui per intervalla distincta retinentibus singulis litteris incidens saltuatim, heroos efficit versus interrogationibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos: quales leguntur Pythici, vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. Ibi tum quærentibus nobis, qui præsenti succedet imperio, quoniam omni parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et adsiliens anulus duas perstrinxerat syllabas ΘΕΟ cum adjectione litteræ postrema, exclamavit præsentium quidam, Theodorum præscribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra super negotio est exploratum: satis enim apud nos constabat, hunc esse qui poscebatur."

† *Choragium* nearly corresponds to our phrase "getting up," as the "getting up of a play." Wagner, in his note on the passage, renders it by the German *Vorrichtungen.*

‡ I have paraphrased the rendering of these two words; but the sense, I think, is evident from the context, and from the force of *tandem.*

§ These purifications are described in the following sentence.

‖ In text, *hac.*

¶ So emended and pointed by Gustavus Wolff (Introduction to Fragments of Porphyry on Oracles, p. 98); in text, "supersistit: cortinulis," &c., which makes no sense.

** In text, "sartum ex Carpathio."

detail. The whole transaction, as I understand it, consisted of two processes—the revolution of the tripod, and the striking of the ring—and must be conceived in the following way. The three-legged table or tripod having been framed in the way described,* and put in the place appointed, it was set in motion by some mysterious operation, the real nature of which is disguised under the vague term *choragiis*. The motion could only have been *rotatory*, as it was considered essential to the success of the experiment, that the tripod should be placed *in medio domus*. Whether the dish with the inscribed alphabetical characters was placed on it *before* or *after* it was caused to revolve, and whether the operator in linen garments was engaged in the preliminary part of the process, is not very distinctly indicated; but it is sufficiently clear, that he set the dish on the upper surface of the tripod, and that, as it revolved with it under his stationary hand, the ring which he held suspended, struck certain letters as they passed, and so spelt the name which was the object of inquiry. The last part of the proceeding very much resembles the familiar experiment of holding a ring suspended in a glass, to see if it will strike against its sides the hour of the day, or any other number that may be desired; and the success which is often said to attend such trials, like that asserted by Ammianus in the passage before us, is probably to be accounted for on the principle so satisfactorily explained by Dr. W. Carpenter, that ideas strongly present to the operator's mind, unconsciously influence the nerves immediately concerned in motive power. These Greek theurgists were not deceivers; they were really in earnest to get at the knowledge of a future event: but Theodorus had already probably occurred to their minds as the likely man, and in this persuasion they had recourse to their tripod-turning. His name was uppermost in thought as the ring was suspended over the revolving dish, and, with unconscious, semi-voluntary influence, jerked the thread as the expected letter passed under it. The spells, the fumigation, the linen garments, &c., had of course nothing to do with the actual result; they were the gratuitous adjuncts of superstition, which only served to conceal more entirely from the parties engaged the real nature of the operation. The credulous eagerness with which they caught at the whole of a tri-syllabic name from the three first letters of it, and gave up all further inquiry as superfluous, has many parallels among ourselves, and is characteristic of the class of minds that delight in these occult investigations. From an expression in the Apology of Tertullian, it would seem to have been a prevalent belief in the second and third centuries, that

* *τρίποδα ξύλινον ἐκ δάφνης* [a wooden tripod of laurel], is Sozomen's expression in his much briefer and less particular account of the same transaction. Hist. Eccles. vi. 35.

good and evil spirits communicated with men through *tables.** There was thus in that age, as Lindenbrogius has observed, a τραπεζομαντική, or *table-conjuring*, which seems to be the equivalent of our modern *table-turning*. As I am on the subject of the various methods by which men have tried to extort the secrets of the invisible world, I may remark, on the authority of Valesius in a note on this passage of Ammianus, that Cedrenus and Zonaras give a different account of this transaction, and say that the inquiry after the successor of Valens, was made, not by tripod-turning, but by ἀλεκτρυομαντεία, *cock-conjuring*. The testimony of Ammianus who was a contemporary, cannot be set aside by that of two Byzantine historians who lived some seven or eight hundred years after him; but they are perfectly credible witnesses to a superstition which, whether practised or not on this particular occasion, no doubt existed among the Greeks, and possibly may have endured to their own time. Its nature, as described by Valesius from them, was this. The four-and-twenty letters of the alphabet were drawn on sand, and on each was placed a grain of wheat or barley. A cock, having previously undergone the necessary initiation—"recitatis quibusdam magicis carminibus"—was then turned out among them, and it was carefully noted from which letters he picked in succession the grains. These letters were then combined, and taken as a divine announcement of the name of the object sought. There would seem to be more of chance in this method than in that mentioned by Ammianus. Is it, however, altogether absurd to suppose, that by some application of those mysterious powers embraced under the term mesmerism, which we at present so imperfectly understand, the operator, through ideas strongly present to his own mind, exercised a semi-voluntary influence over the motions of the animal which guided them to particular letters? A cautious use of the knowledge which we have acquired in modern times of these powers, and of the remarkable effects by which they are attended, might possibly help to explain many curious and difficult passages in old authors, and relieve us from the alternative of either disbelieving their words or else admitting the supernatural. The passage in Tertullian, "De Anima," describing the *ecstasis*, as he calls it, of a sister in the church at Carthage, during which, besides conversing with angels and the Lord, she read the thoughts of some persons and gave medical advice to those who asked it,†—is well known, and has often been quoted for the obvious comparison that it suggests with the phenomena of mesmerism. A careful collection of facts of this kind out of all literatures, ancient and modern, with a classification of them

* Per quos [scil. angelos et dæmonas] et capræ et *mensæ* divinare consueverunt. Lib. Apol. xxiii.

† Quorundam corda dignoscit et medicinas desiderantibus submittit.

under different heads, developing and completing what has already been commenced in the two very curious volumes, published several years ago, of Eusèbe Salverte, *Sur les Sciences Occultes*, and quite recently, as regards oracles, in G. Wolff's learned and elaborate Introduction to some Fragments of Porphyry,* would form a valuable contribution, if not to what this practical age calls *par excellence* useful knowledge, yet at least to a more enlarged and many-sided comprehension of the mingled lights and shades, often co-existing in closest juxtaposition, of that strange, mysterious compound, the human soul. I feel almost ashamed to have occupied so much of your space with what many perhaps will deem mere records of childish folly. But folly and wisdom grow up together, and our clearest knowledge is derived from contrasts. Errors of extensive prevalence spring from the same deep root of humanity as the grandest truths. We best understand the conditions of health, by an enlightened study of pathology. A wise man, now no more,† wrote thus—and there seems to me an often-neglected truth in his words, under which I am glad to shelter the feebleness of my own: "Ce ne sont pas en effet les verités qui occupent le plus d'espace, ou même qui obtiennent le plus d'importance dans l'histoire de l'humanité; les fables y jouent de toute manière un bien plus grand rôle; et l'on se fait peut-être une plus juste idée de l'homme civilisé en l'étudiant dans les erreurs de sa raison et dans les illusions de son génie, que dans les faits positifs de son histoire."

J. J. T.

ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL.

That proverb took its first origin from the time when the revenues of the Abbey of *St. Peter* at Westminster, were transferred to the Cathedral of *St. Paul* in London. But it has a much more extensive application, of which those two noble edifices may always serve to remind us. There are a thousand ways in which we may be tempted to rob Peter for paying Paul, or to rob Paul for paying Peter. We are tempted to do so, if, as I said, we refuse, in our admiration of one kind of beauty, to recognize any beauty of another kind. We may be tempted still more seriously to do so, if in our study of political or religious questions, ancient or modern, past or present, we insist on dwelling only on one side, and never looking at the other. This is, indeed, in the highest sense, robbing Peter to pay Paul; it is refusing to acknowledge that variety of character, of taste, of opinion, which God himself has forced upon us, not only in common history, but in the most sacred history of all.—*Rev. A. P. Stanley's Lecture on the Study of Modern History.*

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* Porphyrii de Philosophia ex Oraculis haurienda, Librorum Reliquiæ. Edidit Gustavus Wolff. Berlin. 1856.

† Raoul-Rochette.

THE SUNDAY QUESTIONS:

OR, HOW SUNDAY CAME; HOW TO USE IT BEST; AND HOW TO LEGISLATE (AND NOT LEGISLATE) ABOUT IT.*

I SHALL now fortify this cheerful and humane view of the Christian Sunday by a few passages from early Christian writers, shewing great variety of view on their part, but combining to represent the Christian Sabbath as a rejoicing festival, and shewing that the early Christians did not rest its observance on the authority of the Jewish Sabbath. Many more such may be seen in Hengstenberg's treatise on the Lord's-day, translated by James Martin, B.A., of Lymington. (W. Freeman, 1853.)

Justin Martyr (who died A.D. 163), in his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, who reproaches the Christians as no better than heathens for their non-observance of the Sabbath and circumcision, replies:

"The new law requires that you keep a perpetual Sabbath; and you fancy you are pious if you spend one day in idleness without understanding why this was prescribed. If there is among you a perjurer or a thief, let him leave his sins; if an adulterer, let him repent; thus will he keep the true and acceptable Sabbath to the Lord."

Again:

"If no circumcision was necessary before Abraham, and no Sabbath, no festivals and no sacrifices before Moses, there is no necessity for them now, since the Son of God, Jesus Christ, has been born of the Virgin, by the will of God, of the seed of Abraham." (Hengstenberg, p. 54.)

Ignatius, in his letter to the Magnesians (about A.D. 107), says:

"Let us no longer sabbatize, but keep the Lord's-day, in which our life also arose in him." (Lardner's Works, IV. 342.)

Tertullian (on Idolatry, ch. xiv.), about A.D. 200, says:

"With the Heathen there is a festival day once a year, but to thee every eighth day is a festival."

He did not regard the Lord's-day as a day of gloom, but as a rejoicing festival.

Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, lib. vii.), about the same time, says:

"We are commanded to worship God through Jesus Christ, not on chosen days as some others do, but continually through our whole life."

Augustine (who died A.D. 430) says, in his work against Faustus:

"I reject circumcision as repulsive, and I believe that thou dost the same. The keeping of the Sabbath I look upon as something superfluous, and so do you." "The observance of the festival of the Sabbath

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* Continued from p. 224.

appears to us now superfluous, since the hope of our eternal rest has been revealed." "As to what thou sayest about the Sabbath and circumcision and difference of meats, Moses taught one thing, and from Christ Christians have learned another." "What wonder is it that the Jews, who only understood the Sabbath according to the letter, resisted Christ, who interpreted it according to the spirit?" (Hengstenberg, pp. 55, 56.)

Jerome (who died A.D. 420) says:

"To the Christian every day is a Sunday, a Whitsuntide and Easter festival." "Certain days have been appointed that we may all meet at the same time." "All days are alike, and not Friday only is to be regarded as the day on which Christ was crucified, nor Sunday only as the day on which he rose, but every day is to us the sacred day of resurrection, and every day we eat of the flesh of the Lord." "The literal Sabbath, the Sabbath of the Jews, is properly neglected by those who are a chosen, royal, priestly race. He sanctifies God's Sabbath, who bears on that Sabbath no burden of sin." (Hengstenberg, pp. 56, 57.)

These fragments of the early history of thought respecting the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, will bear us out in saying that the blessed secret of a day of rest was felt to be too great a privilege for the world to let go; while they join also with the next record of the Lord's-day—its proclamation by Constantine—in disproving the continually implied notion that it was held by the early Christians to be obligatory on them to do as Moses had taught the Jews to do. Those who so argue should, in the language of Paul, feel themselves "debtors to keep the whole Law:"—they should keep all the Jewish rites and ceremonies, and should observe the Sabbath itself just as the Jews do and when the Jews do, namely, from Friday at sunset till Saturday at sunset.

The first legalizing of a Christian day of rest was effected by an edict of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, in A.D. 321. Let the terms of his edict be carefully observed by those who are prompt to denounce as Sabbath-breaking the occasional securing of a valuable crop by Sunday labour in our fickle climate. It is as follows:

"Let all the judges and the people of the towns and all the trades rest on the venerable day of the Sun;* nevertheless, let those who live in the country work in agriculture at their own choice and without restraint, as it may happen that corn cannot be planted or vines set so well on another day, lest at the critical time the bounty given by the providence of God may perish."

The Council of Laodicea (A.D. 363) enjoins that

"Christians are not to imitate the Jews and be idle on the Sabbath, but to work on that day; but on the Sunday, *if circumstances allow*, they are to abstain from work as Christians." (Hengstenberg, p. 58.)

* Here is the Heathen name for the day: the edict does not even call it the Lord's-day. No doubt the Heathen population welcomed it as gladly as the Christian, though for less spiritual ends.

The third Council of Orleans (A.D. 538) says:

"The opinion is spreading among the people that it is wrong to ride or drive or cook food, or do anything to the house or person, on the Sunday. But since *such opinions are more Jewish than Christian,* that shall be lawful in future which has been so to the present time. On the other hand, agricultural labour ought to be laid aside, in order that the people may not be prevented from attending church." (P. 58.)

Bede the Venerable says:

"Since that keeping of the Sabbath which consisted in a day's inactivity is done away, he keeps a perpetual Sabbath who performs his works in hope of future rest, and boasts not of his good deeds as though they were his own and he had not received them, but confesses that He who at the same time works and rests, is working in him. The Christian keeps the true Sabbath when he abstains from servile work, that is, from sin; for he who sins is the servant of sin." (P. 59.)

Thomas Aquinas says:

"Servile works are inconsistent with the keeping of the Sabbath so far as they hinder us from fixing the mind upon divine things. And because a man is kept away from divine things more by sin than by work, even of the body, the man who sins breaks the command more than he who performs any lawful bodily work. The observance of Sunday, under the new law, follows the keeping of the Sabbath, not in consequence of a legal precept, but from the decision of the Church and the custom of Christians. For this observance is not typical, as the keeping of the Sabbath was under the old law. And therefore the prohibition of work on the Sunday is not so strict as on the Sabbath, but some employments are lawful on the Sundays which were forbidden on the Sabbath, such as the cooking of food and other similar things." (P. 60.)

How little will these progressive opinions bear out the Sabbatarian claims that are continually set forth as on the undoubted authority of Scripture and of Christian antiquity!

Luther's protest against the growth of such unreasonable claims must not be omitted. It is couched in the forcible, rough style that characterized everything he said and did. (It was quoted by Lord Stanley in the late debate.)

"If anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake, if anywhere any one sets up its observance on a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to do anything that shall reprove this encroachment on Christian liberty."

Calvin says, in a freer spirit on this subject than belongs to his followers:

"By changing the day and yet attributing the same sanctity to it that the Jews did to their Sabbath, we retain the same typical distinction of days. Those who cling to them go thrice as far as the Jews in the gross and carnal superstition of Sabbath worship."

Melancthon (in the Augsburg Confession) speaks in the same tone as the other leaders of the Reformation:

"Those who maintain that the Sunday is necessarily instituted in the place of the Sabbath are greatly mistaken; for the sacred Scriptures have abolished the Sabbath, and teach that all the ceremonies of the old law may be dropped since the introduction of the gospel; still, as it is requisite that a certain day should be appointed, in order that the people may know when to assemble, the Christian Church has appointed Sunday for this purpose; and this change it has made with the greater pleasure and good will, since it sets before man an example of Christian liberty, and teaches that neither the keeping of the Sabbath nor of any other day is absolutely necessary." (Hengstenberg, p. 63.)

I shall only further adduce the generous opinions of two modern English clergymen, both lately deceased, as to the true foundation of our Sunday observance, and the spirit in which it should be observed.

This passage is from the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby (Life, Vol. II. p. 10):

"Sunday should be a day of greater leisure than other days, and of the suspension as far as may be of the common business of life. But then I should have much greater indulgence for recreation on a Sunday. And if the railway enables people in great towns to get into the country on a Sunday, I should think it a great good."

The late Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, deprecating the Sabbatarian view of our day of rest as unsolid and dangerous, says (Sermons, Vol. I. p. 97):

"If we take the strict and ultra ground of Sabbath observance, basing it on the rigorous requirements of the Fourth Commandment, we take ground which is not true; and all untruth, whether it be an overstatement or a half-truth, recoils upon itself. If we impose on men a burden which cannot be borne, and demand a strictness which, possible in theory, is impossible in practice, men recoil: we have asked too much, and they give us nothing—the result is an open, wanton and sarcastic desecration of the Day of Rest."

The same writer takes as the true ground on which to maintain the day of rest, that which we have thus far taken, its importance to the well-being of man. Is not this ground sufficiently hinted by our Saviour when he says: "The Sabbath was made for man, though man was not made for the Sabbath"? It is designed for his best benefit. He therefore, while not required to idolize it, is concerned to use it wisely and well.

I am convinced this is the *safe* ground, as it is the reasonable ground, on which to rest all that we may fairly desire or demand respecting the observance of a day of exemption from work. Some persons fear that if the stringent divine *authority* of the day be given up, it may soon come to be claimed as a working day like the other six. I do not fear this. It has become, by the usage of Jewish, Christian and Mahometan centuries, one of the great *vested rights of the labourer*, no less than one of the chief spiritual blessings of all religious hearts. The labourer

knows that the addition of a seventh day of work would not permanently add anything to his earnings. He therefore cannot be tempted to forego his Sabbath. The employer of labour believes, too, that six days of toil, thus intermitted and relieved by the seventh, are as effective as seven would be without such interval. He, therefore, is under no temptation to invade, if he could, his workman's Sabbath. Nor has the world so soon forgotten the experiment actually made by revolutionary France, when the seventh day was abolished by law as a day of rest and worship, and a tenth day was instituted instead, as a merely secular holiday. Neither as workers nor as worshipers could the French be prevailed upon to accept this more stinted rest, and the seventh-day Sabbath returned to them. Physiologists confirm the latter proportion as more appropriate to the needs of the human body than the other, which is too little; nor does religion think this too much for the higher wants of the mind and heart and soul. I am under no apprehension, therefore, that the Sunday's rest should come to an end by the relinquishment of an untenable, though imposing, argument on its behalf; but I am greatly apprehensive that the continual assertion of the absolute divine authority of Sunday, the representation of its due observance as consisting in gloom and asceticism, the insisting upon prohibitions which are unnatural and galling, and especially such as deny to the humbler classes pleasures and recreations which the higher classes are at the same time enjoying, together with the wild denunciation of divine judgments as impending on the non-observance of what is not plainly incumbent, or even of what is impracticable;—all this, I do indeed fear, must tend to lower the Sunday not only in the respect, but yet more in the love, of those who would cherish it as a blessing, and might, while feeling it to be such, be encouraged, in various degrees and ways, to improve it.

I now proceed to describe, briefly and plainly, my own idea of the true uses to be made of the day of rest; after which the inquiry will be, on my part, a very simple one,—how much properly devolves upon our legislature in enabling us so to use it.

We should bear in mind in such an estimate, that we have not to describe how *we* ourselves, or those whose circumstances, occupations and habits are most like our own, may think it right to spend our Sunday; but to look widely forth upon the vast varieties of our fellow-countrymen, of every different rank and occupation, and in all their most diverse states of bodily, mental, moral and religious want and capacity, and say in what spirit the day of rest should be regarded *on their behalf*. No hard, narrow rules for its outward observance are applicable to all persons alike. Nor is any one of us intitled to insist that what he finds best for himself must be equally good for every one else; still less, that what he does voluntarily on that day, from the con-

victions of his own conscience, must be enforced upon all other persons, whether it approves itself to their consciences or not.

In this large and comprehensive spirit let us inquire, then, how Sunday's rest may be made the greatest blessing to mankind.

The first condition for making Sunday a real blessing to the bodies and souls of men, and saving it from both worldly and sanctimonious abuses, is, that we always make it a *cheerful* day. It is a day of privilege to be thankful for; a day to "rejoice and be glad" in. Long faces and dismal looks do not at all become it. Freedom from toil and worldly care is a gladdening feeling, which it is no true religion to damp into sadness. It is especially desirable that our young people should grow up with cheerful and happy thoughts of the day of rest. Our Puritan ancestors of a generation or two back made frequent mistakes on this subject. Their Sabbath was no "delight" to their children; and though, according to their convictions, they kept it most scrupulously "holy to the Lord," it was little "honourable" to the cause of religion. The Puritan spirit (so noble in its essential manifestations, so grotesque in its unessentials) took its rebound from the laxity of the Stuart times. Just as, in protesting against the mummeries of Popery, it unrelentingly tore down all pictures from the churches, and superstitiously scrupled the use of the beautiful emblem of the Cross in baptism; and as, in taking its stand against luxury and personal display, it made conscience of short-cropped hair and earned the name of Roundheads for its disciples; so, in recoiling from the shameless levities and dissipation which paraded themselves on the Sunday especially, and the public sports which were fast depriving the day of its highest uses and even making it a day of labour in another sense, it seems to have found no stopping-place short of a super-Jewish rigour. But these old Puritans really believed, with genuine and fervent enthusiasm, that every word written in the Old Testament respecting the Jewish people, was written equally in reference to themselves, and that "the Lord's people" now must fulfil the Law given to the Lord's people then. This Puritanism has bequeathed its Sabbatarian laws and customs to Scotland, where no little oppression and hypocrisy are the consequence. In England, its principles are still advocated, at least on this Sabbath question, as if they were undoubted divine truths; while, all the time, in multitudes of instances (not excepting the conduct even of their advocates) those principles are not regarded, and practically cannot be. The result of this impracticable austerity of theory is bad every way;—bad for the minds that hold it, for they place religion in their thoughts where they cannot find it in life;—and bad for others, who are thus taught to regard religion itself as an enemy to their happiness while pretending to give them holiness. Never, never let us cloud Religion with gloom; nor let a gloomy Sabbath mis-

represent her spirit. The first principle of Sunday observance, we repeat then, should be Cheerfulness.

In this spirit Sunday may and ought to be especially a *family* day. And it *is* so to multitudes of men in all classes of society, hand-workers and head-workers, who are little at home from Monday morning to Saturday night, and scarcely see their younger children out of bed except on Sundays. This is the case in our large towns especially, where distances are so enormous. Sunday is the one day that the family really spend together. Let them cherish it as a privilege indeed, to be thus brought together once a week. Let all sources of mutual family interest find place with them that day, from the light joy of the infant to the opening cares and interests of the young adult son or daughter, gathered home to the family table perhaps that day alone. And let the day keep all these interests pure, while these interests make the day a new bond of family and home. On this family day let the absent be especially remembered. It is a true Sabbath use of a part of Sunday that many good persons make, in writing family letters to their dispersed members. What could be more true to the heart's natural dictates? What more appropriate to the day made for man? May the Sabbatarian, who objects to this employment on the Sunday, do nothing worse! May he keep his heart and tongue right towards all his fellow-creatures, while scrupling to speak to his absent child because it is Sunday! That "piety of the home" which consists in dutiful and right affections between children and their parents and among the children themselves, is one of the truest religious influences to be derived from the day of rest.

The next condition which I should suggest for the beneficial observance of Sunday is, that it should be made a conspicuously *different day* from all others. In this decided difference consists its power at once as a day of refreshment and as a day of improvement. We want a decided change from the routine of other days, a different set of occupations, a new current of thoughts.

It is delightful to see the outward change which has washed off the dirt and laid aside for a while the soiled garments of the week-day. This cleanliness of person and greater neatness or elegance of garment bears no small part, assuredly, in the elevation which the Sabbath gives to the life of the workman. It is right, too, that his Sunday dinner be an improvement upon his daily fare. Let him and his family think happily of the day of rest for that blessing, and for time to enjoy it together; while those whose daily table is well spread, may perhaps mark their Sunday, with equal appropriateness, to their servants' pleasant thoughts, by a plainer repast than usual. Many excellent persons do this. It is a good old custom.

To the mass of mankind, whether hand-workers or head-workers, the cessation of their ordinary work is, of itself, so far a

change. But this cessation is, of itself, only negative. It is for them to decide what they will *put in the place* of their daily work. If a man substitutes mere idleness and inaction, his Sunday may perhaps have secured the purpose of so much sleep to his body; but that is all. Or, more probably, his idleness sinks into indulgence and vice, counteracting even the good of the bodily rest, and making no change of mind from the low thoughts or the dull apathy of the week. A man whose daily work is manual labour should find in his Sunday an opportunity for the more continuous reading of books worthy of a man's choice, such as he reads by snatches only on his days of labour. This would be truly healthful to his whole nature, and would raise and dignify his work through the next week. To those whose time on other days is more directly devoted to knowledge and thought, as students or men of science, or as men at once of leisure and of education to employ it well,—as also to that large class of intelligent and educated women, whose daily life is a scene of mental activity and affords them abundant means of improvement,—this same principle of making the Sunday quite a different day from the others, is equally important for mental health and happiness. And to them it seems to say, Put away your week's books. Change your studies for something different and yet higher. If you have been deep in the world's rich literature all the week, now search with equal diligence a diviner page. If you have been intent upon human science, now turn to that of divine revelation. If you can criticise poems of the imagination and fancy, try now if you can feel those of devotion. Refresh and exalt your spirit by the variety.

We have thus advanced another step to say, that the difference between Sunday and other days should be, as far as possible, of an *elevating* and *improving kind*. In its most palpable outward characteristics it is so (as we have just seen), by suggesting special cleanliness of person and neatness of dress. And to the intelligent mind also its greater leisure presents opportunities for a higher culture. Then *the highest culture* that each mind can receive is open to all minds, of whatever order, in the offices of *public worship* and instruction which specially solicit us all on this day. We do not stop now to shew the vast importance of public worship. Whether in a devotional or a social point of view, its influence can hardly be over-estimated. Public worship, then, almost implies a stated time, if not an intire day, of general abstinence from business. On other days than Sundays such services are rarely attempted and with difficulty sustained. Early morning and late evening services on week-days seldom command large attendances. In Catholic and Mahometan countries the ever-open churches and mosques witness private rather than social prayer. To most of us, the personal devotion of the rising and resting hours, with perhaps the office of family prayer, must suffice to consecrate our day's work to Him whom we serve.

But on the Sunday the order of things is, in this respect, reversed. We ought to make the direct worship of God and meditation on duty the *leading business of its best hours*, and may fill up our time with other things in due proportion and subordination to this. Nor, when we regard religious services as the leading purpose of the Sabbath, do we find them claiming such long and weary hours of business as the counting-house or shop or factory demands on other days. An hour and half in the morning and as long in the evening would be considered short hours of business any where but in the church. It is not indeed by the length of these services, but by their earnestness and vigour, and by their influence upon our characters and feelings from Sunday to Sunday again, that their value is to be estimated or the sense of religious duty and aspiration satisfied. Nor can any of us prescribe for any other, how many attendances on public worship are good or necessary for the soul's health, or consistent with the most truly religious fulfilment of domestic and social claims of various kinds. On all these details every serious worshiper must be "persuaded in his own mind," according to his personal position and duties in life, while bearing in mind that the Sabbath was made *for* man (for his best uses, and for such uses as no other day is made to fulfil), and that man was not made to glorify the Sabbath.

If thus the genuine spirit of cheerful devotion is prominent in our use of the day of rest, together with its family and friendly spirit, the same right spirit will tell us better than any minute rules, what other pursuits and interests, and in what proportions, may rightly occupy the delicious leisure of our Sundays.

Many of the best and most active Christians (on whom the more urgent family duties do not press) will make this day their busiest day of benevolence, teaching the young, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, realizing their best idea of its Sabbath rest in a change of occupation, from the works of daily necessity to those of heavenly mercy. But the majority of hard-working hands and heads require a different or an additional answer to the question, how, after paying due regard to public worship, they should spend some Sabbath hours in meet *refreshment of body and mind.* And to such we suggest:—There are *books*, of a high and important character, besides such as are strictly religious, so called, yet quite in keeping with the religious occupations of the day. There are in the houses of many who are not to be called rich, some *works of art* which interest and improve the higher faculties. And there are all around us, in the Great Creator's own temple of earth and sea and sky, the *Works of Nature*, soliciting our admiration and our religious thought. The contemplation and study of the works of Nature, is, in every point of view, the *best of Sunday recreations.* It is healthy and refreshing alike to body and spirit. It is truly religious in its influences. To dwellers in towns most especially, it gives the

great relief of change and contrast to their six days' occupations. And it is with especial reference to the needs of the present age of great cities, that the question, how to spend Sunday, must be considered; as indeed its discussion on all recent occasions has more than ever decidedly taken this turn. The most urgent want of those who dwell from week's end to week's end, hemmed round with miles of streets, houses and manufactories, amid the roar of carriages and the hum of business, breathing the tainted atmosphere through which the sun scarcely looks and the blue sky is seldom visible,—their most urgent want for the refreshment of mind and body, and their most effectual appliance for the excitement of simple pleasures and the recal of natural devotion, is to come within sight of green fields and flowers, and breathe the vital air of the sweet country. Those of us who live in small provincial towns, with fresh air accessible on all sides at the easiest distances, and Nature's works open to our view, must take pains to realize the deep wants of those huge places of population, from which to seek the country air implies a journey, an omnibus, a railway-train or a steam-boat; and we must beware of objecting to the employment of the means necessary to give them (even in an inferior degree after all) the very advantages which we do not scruple to use as offered to ourselves. And, in like manner, those who from their own handsome houses can walk out into their own well-kept gardens, and admire or shew to admiring friends their rare shrubs and flowers, should not think it a sin in those who have not such treasures of their own, to frequent such public parks or gardens as are accessible to them.

But detail on this subject would be endless, and I must bring my subject to an end by inquiring very briefly, what, on this view of the Sunday's true uses, our legislature may fairly be expected to do, or required to abstain from doing.

Two great principles come out, I think, as clearly as possible. The one is positive, the other negative; the one says what should be done; the other, what should not be attempted. Our legislators should aim at giving to every person, as far as possible, the *uncontrolled use of his Sunday*, so long as he uses it without infringing the equal liberty of his neighbours. Legislation of some sort, to some extent, we must have, even to secure a simultaneous cessation from labour. But its purpose should be to enfranchise, not to repress—to secure to every one, as far as possible, the enjoyment of a day of leisure, but not to enforce upon him any particular way of spending it. On this principle, though it is the legislator's duty to secure freedom in the use of the Sabbath, it follows that he must not lay an absolute prohibition upon the voluntary exercise of such secular callings as are necessary to enable the bulk of the community to enjoy the free use of the day. Were he to make public baking illegal on this day, he would partially debar many of their natural right to

dine. Were he to close all inns and places of refreshment, he would invade the freedom of those whose alternative it is to eat at such places or to fast. Were he to stop public carriages on roads and railways, and not to stop private carriages also (which Sabbatarians seem never to contemplate doing), he would be calling the rich man's evil good, or else the poor man's good evil. If he closes those exhibitions of nature and of art which tend to refine and improve the mind, against such as have no hope of seeing them except on their day of rest, he is again grossly partial to such as can visit those public stores from day to day, and also recreate themselves with similar treasures of their own on Sundays. And he grossly wrongs religion by thus acting.

These, then, are the acts that the legislature should *not* do. And for the same reasons, any other bodies of men who have the control of public institutions adapted to innocent, healthful and improving recreation, should regard themselves as put in trust, not to enforce their own Sunday practice upon other persons, but *to give to each* person, as far as possible, the power of acting upon *his own sense* of what is right or allowable. The majority of the proprietors of the Manchester Botanical Gardens, for instance, who now *(conscientiously*, no doubt) keep them closed on Sundays, should remember that the opening would not compel them to walk there, but that the closing does prevent the minority from walking there. Let the minority become the majority (as it soon probably will), and then, for the first time, all the subscribers will have equal liberty of conscience. At present, the general conscience is oppressed by the particular conscience, so called. But the "religious people," so called, are sad defaulters here in the high court of morals. They have no conscience for other people's consciences.

Lord Stanley, in his right-minded and most manly speech in the late debate in Parliament, thus admirably expressed this most obvious but ever-disregarded distinction. His words would befit the chair of Moral Philosophy or the Christian pulpit. Rather, alas! they put many a pulpit to shame! I conclude by quoting them:

"Half the social injustice committed, half the misery endured on earth, arose (he said) out of the manner in which a large proportion of mankind in all ages and countries had reasoned on this subject. They argued thus: I think this or that act wrong. Therefore my neighbour ought to think it wrong. I cannot control his thoughts; but I can and will control his acts, and will make him act as though he agreed with me. What were the fruits of this principle? Oppression on the part of the strong; hypocrisy in the timid; persecution undergone by the bold and honest; discredit brought on the name of religion itself. He denied the right of that House, or any earthly tribunal or legislature, to prescribe the relations which should subsist between man and the Supreme Being."

SAMUEL ROGERS.*

Rogers's first attempt at authorship was a series of papers entitled *The Scribbler*, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1781. Their author spoke of them afterwards as "sad trash," but Mr. Dyce pleads in their behalf that they are quite up to the standard of that infant age of periodical literature. The first essay of his muse was made in 1785, and published the year after, under the title, "An Ode to Superstition, and other Poems." To procure its publication, he had to pay thirty pounds to ensure his bookseller from loss. The Ode to Superstition has, we think, scarcely received the commendation to which it is entitled. Certain it is that the early works of poets greater than Rogers afterwards proved, evinced less both of poetic fire and metrical skill. The lines descriptive of Superstition in the cloister are full of music and expression:

> "Veiling from the eye of day,
> Penance dreams her life away;
> In cloistered solitude she sits and sighs,
> While from each shrine still, small responses rise.
> Hear with what heartfelt beat the midnight bell
> Swings its slow summons thro' the hollow pile!
> The weak, wan votarist leaves her twilight cell,
> To walk, with taper dim, the winding aisle;
> With choral chantings vainly to aspire
> Beyond this nether sphere on Rapture's wing of fire."

It is easy, a modern critic says, to perceive that the author of the Ode to Superstition was a student and a lover of Gray's "Bard" and his "Ode to Adversity." The spirit of the whole poem, but especially its concluding stanza, shews the influences of the great preacher of Truth and Providence, Dr. Price, in whose services he took such pure pleasure.

The public did not care to buy the early poetry of Samuel Rogers; but he felt rewarded when Cadell, the publisher, repeated to him words of praise spoken by Hayley, and when he was told that Parson Este (the colleague of Captain Topham in editing the "World" newspaper) had called him "a child of Goldsmith."

The time when Rogers presented himself before the English public as a candidate for the laurel or the ivy of the poet was propitious. A few years before, Voltaire superciliously inquired from an English literary traveller who visited him at Ferney, what living poets England then had. The answer contained only two names, Gray and Mason. Gray was now dead, and the other as a poet could scarcely be said to live. Cowper and Hayley would in 1792 have been named as England's chief poets. Crabbe had scarcely then won a place at the feast of the poets.

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* Continued from p. 203.

There is always room for a true poet. There was then an especial want of one. When, in 1792, he published his "Pleasures of Memory," a poem in two parts, his claim to be an English poet was at once and generally admitted. Composed in rhyme in the English heroics, the thoughts are pure and often elevated, and the diction is always sweet and musical. He has not Cowper's strength nor Gray's sublimity, and if he is inferior to Goldsmith in the melody and sweetness of his lines and the tender beauty of his metaphors, he far surpasses him in the justness of his thoughts and the consistency of his conceptions. Lord Byron called our poet "melodious Rogers," and placed his "Pleasures of Memory" side by side with the "Essay on Man" and the "Pleasures of Hope," styling them "the most beautiful didactic poems in our language."

It was one of Rogers's "Pleasures of Memory" that the publication of that poem was the means of his obtaining the personal friendship of Charles James Fox. "No one," writes one of the authors of the obituary, "could be ten minutes in Mr. Rogers's company without hearing some friendly reference to the name of Fox. He really loved him on this side of idolatry, and Mr. Fox is known to have evinced a sincere regard for the poet." The name of the patriot is of frequent occurrence in the Table Talk. He regarded Mr. Fox as the "friend of all human kind," and

> "Of those that loved him living, mourned him dead,"

few more sorrowfully bewailed his departure, and none had a juster or nobler conception of the character of the patriot. After attending his funeral on the 10th of October, 1806, he wrote in Westminster Abbey some lines expressive of his reverence of

> "Him who dared be singularly good.
> * * * *
> Amid the frowns of power, the tricks of State,
> Fearless, resolved, and negligently great."

In 1793, Rogers lost his father,

> "Worn to a shade, and wan with slow decay." *

With respect to Mr. Rogers's connection with the bank, Mr. Dyce states that "he commenced life by performing the duties of a clerk in his father's banking-house; but after inheriting a large share of the concern, he ceased to take an active part in its management." (Preface to Table-Talk, p. vi.)

Blest with the gifts of fortune and genius, he henceforth associated with those whose rank or talents made them objects of interest. With Mrs. Siddons and the other members of the Kemble family he formed an early and a lasting friendship. In 1795, he wrote an Epilogue to be spoken by Mrs. Siddons at her benefit at Drury Lane Theatre. When the gifted brother and sister acted Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, Rogers was gene-

* See the "Lines written in a Sick Chamber, 1793."

rally one of the audience. To the close of life he spoke with enthusiasm of "their noble acting and Locke's (?) fine music."

When, in consequence of the reaction that followed the first enthusiasm on behalf of the French Revolution, the political horizon of England became dark and party spirit bitter, Mr. Rogers quietly but firmly took his place with the "sad friends of truth" and liberty. He watched with intense interest the progress of the State trials, in which, under the bold bad guidance of William Pitt, the Court made an attempt to curb English liberty the most alarming since the days of the Stuarts. He was present at the trial of Horne Tooke, having paid five guineas for a seat in the court.

"The trial lasted six days. Erskine (than whom nobody had ever more power over a jury,—he would frequently address them as his 'little twelvers') defended Tooke most admirably: nay, he showed himself not only a great orator, but a great actor; for, on the fifth day, when the Attorney-General, Eldon, was addressing the jury, and was using a line of argument which Erskine had not expected and could not reply to (the pleading for the prisoner being closed), I well remember how Erskine the whole time kept turning towards the jury, and by a series of significant looks, shrugs, and shakings of his head, did all he could to destroy the effect of what the Attorney-General was saying. * * * At the conclusion of the trial, a daughter of one of the jurymen was anxious to be introduced to Tooke; who, shaking her by the hand, said very prettily, 'I must call you sister, for you are the daughter of one of those to whom I owe my life.'—If Tooke had been convicted, there is no doubt that he would have been hanged. We lived then under a reign of terror."—Pp. 127, 128.

In one of the State trials in those days of peril, that of William Stone, Mr. Rogers was something more than a spectator, being summoned as a witness by the Crown officers, who were fishing for a case against the prisoner. Although Mr. Rogers had held conversations with Mr. Stone, he fortunately had declined receiving from him any political secrets, feeling that at a time of general alarm it was prudent "to shun even the shadow of an imputation." The charge against Mr. Stone was a traitorous conspiracy with his brother, Mr. J. Hurford Stone (then in France), to kill the King and raise a rebellion. The trial before Lord Kenyon lasted two days. Mr. Rogers was able to prove that Mr. Stone had transmitted certain papers to France in order to save the country from an invasion, by shewing that the English nation, whatever might be their party divisions, would rise as one man to repel an invading force. This evidence, coming from one of the witnesses for the Crown, materially assisted in the verdict of acquittal which rewarded Mr. Erskine's eloquent efforts for the accused. The verdict was received with shouts of joy by the people in the court, for joining in which a gentleman present, a Mr. Thompson, was fined twenty pounds.

When Gilbert Wakefield* was made a victim of Pitt's reckless government, Mr. Rogers was one of those undaunted friends who testified their respect for and sympathy with him.

"In company with my sister, I paid a visit to Gilbert Wakefield when he was in Dorchester Gaol. His confinement was made as pleasant to him as possible; for he had nearly an acre of ground to walk about in. But, still, the sentence passed upon him was infamous: what rulers we had in those days!

"Wakefield gave Beloe some assistance in translating Aulus Gellius." Pp. 140, 141.

There was a time when the fearless manner in which Rogers proclaimed his liberalism in politics produced inconvenient consequences. To this alone was attributed his rejection, in 1805, by "The Club." It was a natural and a becoming ambition which led Mr. Rogers eagerly to desire to join a society founded by Sir Joshua Reynolds, at whose meetings Dr. Johnson spent the happiest hours of his life, in company with such men as its founder (Dr. Johnson called Sir Joshua their *Romulus*), and Langton, Burke and Goldsmith, — a society which afterwards reckoned amongst its members Garrick, Sir Wm. Jones, Gibbon, Adam Smith and Warton, and which at the time when our poet underwent the dread ordeal of the ballot-box, was adorned by Bishop Percy, Charles Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Hookham Frere, Thomas Grenville and Lord Stowell. He was proposed by Mr. John Courtenay and seconded by Dr. Chas. Burney, both members of long standing. Though politics were professedly excluded, they certainly exercised no little influence, most of the elections during the five preceding years having fallen on well-accredited Tories. The last admitted member was Bishop Horsley. He was one of five dignified clergymen who constituted a sixth of the whole Society. The rejection of Mr. Rogers was a stain on the Club. A recent writer has observed, in reference to this transaction, "this ostracism was soon annulled." We know not whether, so far as the Club was concerned, it ever was annulled. It certainly was not during the twenty-seven years that followed, for his name finds no place in the list of members elected up to

* In Mr. Maltby's Porsoniana, pp. 316, 317, the name of Wakefield is thus introduced:—"Porson felt much respect for Gilbert Wakefield's integrity, but very little for his learning. When Wakefield put forth the *Diatribe Extemporalis* on Porson's edition of the *Hecuba*, Porson said, 'If Wakefield goes on at this rate, he will tempt me to examine his *Silva Critica*. I hope that we shall not meet; for a violent quarrel would be the consequence.'—Wakefield was a very agreeable and entertaining companion. 'My *Lucretius*,' he once said to me, 'is my most perfect publication,—it is, in fact, *Lucretius Restitutus*.' He was a great walker; he has walked as much as forty miles in one day; and I believe that his death was partly brought on by excessive walking, after his long confinement in Dorchester gaol. What offended Wakefield at Porson was, that Porson had made no mention of him in his notes. Now, Porson told Burney expressly, that out of pure kindness he had forborne to mention Wakefield; for he could not have cited any of his emendations without the severest censure."

1832. Possibly Mr. Rogers, with becoming pride, may have rejected overtures on the part of the Club.

When, by the death of the parents, the family circle of Newington Green was broken up, Samuel Rogers appears to have betaken himself to chambers in the Temple. Here he was often visited by Mackintosh and Richard Sharp, who made them the battle-field of metaphysical engagements, often more interesting to the combatants than to their host.

"Mackintosh told me that he had received in his youth comparatively little instruction,—whatever learning he possessed he owed to himself. He had a prodigious memory, and could repeat by heart more of Cicero than you would easily believe. His knowledge of Greek was slender. I never met a man with a fuller mind than Mackintosh,—such readiness on all subjects, such a talker!"—P. 195.

It was in 1798 that Mr. Rogers published his pleasing poem entitled "Epistle to a Friend." His design of inculcating and illustrating the virtue and beauty of true taste was perfectly successful. If the structure of the verses remind us of Dryden and Pope, the poem as a whole suggests a comparison with Goldsmith and Parnell. There are admirers of Mr. Rogers' muse who think this its best production.

It was after Mr. Rogers had quitted his suburban residence that Mr. Barbauld became the minister of the little chapel on Newington Green, and that he and Mrs. Barbauld took up their residence at Stoke Newington. Her name occurs once or twice in the Table-Talk.

"At a dinner-party, where I was, Fox met Aikin. 'I am greatly pleased with your *Miscellaneous Pieces*, Mr. Aikin,' said Fox (alluding to the volume written partly by Aikin, and partly by his sister Mrs. Barbauld). Aikin bowed. 'I particularly admire,' continued Fox, 'your essay *Against Inconsistency in our Expectations*.' 'That,' replied Aikin, 'is my sister's.'—'I like much,' resumed Fox, 'your essay *On Monastic Institutions*.' 'That,' answered Aikin, 'is also my sister's.' Fox thought it best to say no more about the book."—P. 81.

"He (C. J. Fox) thought Mrs. Barbauld's *Life of Richardson* admirable; and regretted that she wasted her talents in writing books for children (excellent as those books might be), now that there were so many pieces of that description."—Pp. 95, 96.

"I know few lines finer than the concluding stanza of *Life** by Mrs. Barbauld, who composed it when she was very old:

"'Life! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather:
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time,
Say not Good Night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good Morning.'

* "Wordsworth also thought very highly of these lines: see his *Memoirs*, II. 222.

"Sitting with Madame D'Arblay some weeks before she died, I said to her, 'Do you remember those lines of Mrs. Barbauld's *Life* which I once repeated to you?' 'Remember them!' she replied; 'I repeat them to myself every night before I go to sleep.'

"Strangely enough, in spite of her correct taste, Mrs. Barbauld was quite fascinated by Darwin's *Botanic Garden* when it first appeared, and talked of it with rapture; for which I scolded her heartily.

"One day, as she was going to Hampstead in the stage-coach, she had a Frenchman for her companion; and entering into conversation with him, she found that he was making an excursion to Hampstead for the express purpose of *seeing the house in the Flask Walk* where Clarissa Harlowe lodged. What a compliment to the genius of Richardson!"—Pp. 179, 180.

With his residence at Newington Green, his habit of attending Unitarian worship ceased. He never, we believe, professed that any change had come over his religious opinions; nor are we aware that he became any where, after that period, an habitual attendant on public worship. If he did neglect public worship during the last half-century of his life, it was not because he did not acknowledge its importance. He gave utterance in verse to his conviction of the influence of the office of public prayer on human life.

> "The Sabbath bell,
> That over wood and wild and mountain dell
> Wanders so far, chasing all thoughts unholy
> With sounds most musical, most melancholy,
> Not on his ear is lost," &c.

In illustration of these lines, he quotes the beautiful testimony of Paley in his Moral Philosophy (b. v. c. iv.) to the social and personal good secured by public worship. In his Table-Talk, he tells us that this passage was pointed out to him as excellent by Mr. Fox.

To the close of his life, Mr. Rogers continued a trustee of the chapel in which his sabbaths in boyhood and youth were passed. He also acted for a time as one of the trustees of Dr. Williams's Library. When, in 1844, the Dissenters' Chapels Bill was before Parliament, he gave a proof of the interest he felt in the question, and in the rights of the English Presbyterians, by signing a very remarkable Petition in favour of the Bill. It was from 111 descendants of Philip and Matthew Henry, and alleged, amongst other things, that "they and their ancestors, from the time of Philip and Matthew Henry, had been wont to worship in the chapels and meeting-houses called Presbyterian, in an unbroken succession of generations, without let or hindrance from any party whatever." Of these 111 descendants of the ejected minister of Worthenbury, two, in affixing their signatures, expressly limited their assent to the prayer of the Petition. Mr. Rogers was, we believe, the last to sign the Petition, and did it without any reserve of this kind.

Early in the century, he was one of a knot of literary friends, composed also of Robert Smith (the brother of Sydney), Mr. Scarlett, Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Richard Sharp, who projected a literary periodical, to come out twice a week, called "The Bachelor." The departure of Robert Smith for India frustrated the project, and thereby the series of English Essayists lost in all probability no small amount of wisdom and wit, as well as of sound criticism clothed in pure English. It was long before Mr. Rogers made his fourth appearance before the public as an author. No English poet more abstemiously stinted himself in the composition of verses than Rogers, or more laboriously revised his work. When Crabbe told him that "he never produced more than forty verses a day," Rogers advised him rather to follow his example and "stint himself to four."

"During my whole life I have borne in mind the speech of a woman to Philip of Macedon; 'I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.' After writing any thing in the excitement of the moment, and being greatly pleased with it, I have always put it by for a day or two; and then carefully considering it in every possible light, I have altered it to the best of my judgment; thus appealing from myself drunk to myself sober. I was engaged on *The Pleasures of Memory* for nine years; on *Human Life* for nearly the same space of time; and *Italy* occupied me little less than sixteen years."—P. 18.

His poem of "Columbus" he does not here mention. It appeared in 1812, and was a great disappointment to the readers of poetry, neither "engaging the public nor pleasing the critics." It was reviewed by Lord Dudley and Ward, more justly than kindly, in the Quarterly. Rogers was greatly annoyed at this, and used to say, "If you wish to have your works *coldly* reviewed, get your intimate friend to write an article on them." He revenged himself on the critic by repeating the epigram,

> "Ward has no heart, they say; but I deny it:
> He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it!"

His next poem was "Jacqueline," which was, with singular want of prudence, permitted to go forth to the public in the same volume with Byron's profoundly impassioned poem of "Lara." Byron affected to regard his friend's poem as better than his own, but no one believed him. Again Mr. Rogers smarted under the critic of the Quarterly (not now Lord Dudley, but George Ellis), who characterized it as "a highly refined, but somewhat insipid, pastoral tale." It was in 1819 that he published his very finished and truly beautiful poem of "Human Life." There is greater freedom in the modulation of his verses, without any loss of the sweetness of his early poetry, and the phraseology is more direct and vigorous. Nothing is more fatal to general popularity than for a poem to abound in recondite allusions. Rogers used (and with some truth) to attribute Cowper's popularity in part to his treating of subjects which required no

previous knowledge in the readers. If in the composition of "Human Life" he purposely trimmed his sails to catch in this way some portion of the popular favour, the result was not unsuccessful. But in his latest poem, "Italy," the original characteristics of his poetry re-appear, and with increased force. Notwithstanding its appearing afterwards in a volume splendidly adorned with engravings of exquisite finish, from drawings by Turner and Stothard, Mr. Rogers's "Italy" is probably the least remembered of all his poems.

Of his life in London, the readers of light literature have had from time to time a succession of glimpses. His house is said to have offered all the attractions that wealth and art, guided by a cultivated taste, could procure. The hospitality of his breakfast-table had an European and a Transatlantic reputation.

"Rogers's breakfasts (wrote Bryant, the American poet) were the pleasantest social meetings that can be conceived of. Here you met persons of every variety of intellectual and social distinction, eminent men and attractive women, wits, orators, persons remarkable for their powers of conversation, artists, dramatists, travellers—all of whom found themselves on the easiest terms with their venerable host, whose noon of life was reached in the last century."

Rogers had a truly English perception of the charms of the breakfast hour. He is the only poet, as far as we remember, who has celebrated its simple, kindly rites.

> "Then the bright kettle sings its matin song,
> Then fragrant clouds of Mocha and Souchong
> Blend as they rise."

Nor does he forget to speak of that necessary adjunct of the English breakfast-table, the broad-sheet,

> "Born with the day, and with the day forgot."

He had, like Rousseau, "un goût vif pour les déjeûners. C'est le tems de la journée, où nous sommes le plus tranquilles, où nous causons le plus à notre aise."

From the Temple, Rogers removed to Conduit Street; but the place which has known him for more than half a century was the far-famed mansion in St. James's Street. What house in London has received such a succession of remarkable visiters, from Charles Fox, who was the specially honoured guest at the opening dinner, to the last distinguished wit or beauty privileged to enter there! Here it was, in 1811, that Byron met for the first time Moore and Campbell. What a glorious company that party should have been! With what disgust do we read the story in the Table-Talk of Byron's playing off before such men as these his foppish affectation of eating and drinking nothing, and then going to his club-house close by for a hearty meat supper!

"In conversation (we are quoting Bryant), Mr. Rogers was one of the most agreeable and interesting of men; he was remarkable for a certain

graceful laconism, a neatness and power of selection in telling a story or expressing a thought with its accessories, which were the envy of the best talkers of his time. His articulation was distinct, just deliberate enough to be listened to with pleasure, and during the last ten or twelve years of his life slightly, and but very slightly, marked with the tremulousness of old age."

His American admirer admits afterwards that he could say caustic things, but pleads that they were not the rule, but the exception. If general report may be trusted on this subject, too many of his anecdotes and criticisms were latterly traced in verjuice. It astonished many of his friends that a man so essentially kind and generous could say such bitter things. The same quality was attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot. But although the goodness of Rogers's heart was as unquestionable as that of Arbuthnot, it could not be always said of our modern bard and wit, what Lord Orrery said of his friend, that "his very sarcasms are the satirical strokes of good-nature." In apology for the bitternesses of his speech, Rogers was wont to say, "When I was young, I found that no one would listen to my civil speeches, because I had a very small voice; so I began to say ill-natured things, and then people began to attend to me."

It cannot be concealed that Rogers, with many things that deserve our admiration,—a character without the taint of vice, intellectual powers of a high order, taste of exquisite delicacy, and a heart open to all the tenderness of compassion,—lacked the highest objects that ennoble man's heart. He played with human life, rather than resolutely set himself to discharge its noblest duties. He was a petted child of English fashionable society, and the wonder is, not that he exhibited some of the faults of the spoilt child, but that he retained and exhibited much that became the true man. He outlived all the friends of his youth. Courted and caressed to the last, there were some things to make him desolate. His last walks through the streets of London became to him like the paths of a huge cemetery. "How many houses," said he, "do I pass, now inhabited by strangers, in which I used to spend such happy hours with those who have long been dead and gone!" (Table-Talk, p. 222.)

> "Up springs at every step, to claim a tear,
> Some little friendship formed and cherished here."

Mr. Bryant appears to have enjoyed some of the brightest gleams of our poet's setting sun.

"In approaching," he says, "the close of a life so much prolonged beyond the usual lot of man—a life, the years of which circumscribed the activity of three generations, he contemplated his departure with the utmost serenity. The state of man after death he called the great subject, and calmly awaited the moment when he should be admitted to contemplate its mysteries. 'I have found life in this world,' he used to say, 'a happy state: the goodness of God has taken care that none of

its functions—even the most inconsiderable—should be performed without sensible pleasure; and I am confident that in the world to come the same care for my happiness will accompany me.'"

It only has to be added that Samuel Rogers died on December 18, 1855, being in his 93rd year, and that his remains were deposited in Hornsey churchyard on the 27th of December, in a family vault which had previously received the bodies of his brother Henry, who died in 1833, and of his sister Sarah, who died only eleven months before her poet-brother.

MARSDEN'S CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.*

We feel truly grateful to Mr. Bentley for the suggestions to which, as our author informs us, this work owes its existence and something of its character. The outlines which it professes to furnish of Christian churches and sects, appear to us to answer as faithfully as can reasonably be expected from an intelligent and earnest member and minister of the sect established by law, to the endeavour which the author in his advertisement avows that he has made, "to place [himself] in the situation of a candid member of the church or sect whose story is before [him], and to avoid distortion and false colouring" (p. i). It is something gained, moreover, to the cause of Christian charity, to find these various and conflicting views of Christianity all recognized and classed as *Christian*, with the single exception, we think, of that recent superstition called Mormonism, whose founder, as in the instance of Mahomet, professed himself the author of a new revelation. With this single exception, all the various sects are treated as *Christian:* justly so; since all are professedly founded on the recognition of Christianity as that to which in the last resort they make their appeal. Through the neglect of this important preliminary endeavour, writers on ecclesiastical history have often failed altogether to understand and appreciate the views of those parties to whom they were themselves opposed. Mr. Marsden, moreover, has, in several instances, had recourse for his representations of characteristic doctrine to some or other of the recognized preachers of that doctrine. His greater success, therefore, in his endeavours fairly to exhibit it, is the natural result and merited reward of his greater candour and liberality.

We have marked many things deserving of commendation in the various articles which these volumes comprise, as manifesting

* History of Christian Churches and Sects; from the Earliest Ages of Christianity. By the Rev. J. B. Marsden, M.A., Incumbent of St. Peter's Birmingham. 2 vols. Pp. 488 and 467. R. Bentley. 1856.

the fair and liberal spirit of our author; but must confine our remarks to his article on the Church of England, and to that which exhibits his views of the denomination to which we ourselves belong.

In his account of the Church of England, our author addresses himself to the problem which so many of his fellow-churchmen have attempted with no greater success, of shewing that "its origin must be sought in the primitive ages of Christianity" (I. 169), and that from its commencement to the present time, it has remained "a pure and apostolic church," occasionally overridden by Italian intrigue, but recovering its independence after vigorous struggles, and ultimately renouncing altogether the authority of the Romish see. The services, nevertheless, which Roman Catholic ecclesiastics rendered during the dark ages are thus candidly acknowledged; while the causes of the great Reformation are clearly shewn to have lain much deeper than the vices of the sovereign under whom it was brought about. We quote the passage as exhibiting a fair specimen of our author's style:

"Yet some advantages they [the English divines] certainly conferred. In their monasteries misfortune often found a shelter, oppression [the oppressed, or the sufferers from oppression?] a refuge, and even piety a home. They prevented a relapse, which, amidst our civil wars, must have certainly occurred, into utter barbarism. Amidst the profound ignorance that prevailed, a return even to Paganism would not seem to have been impossible, but for the light which feebly glimmered from abbeys and cathedrals. And to these men, the ecclesiastics of the dark ages, we owe those proud examples of an architecture, perfect in its kind, which seems alike to stimulate the ambition and mock the endeavours of the builders of a later age. As the touch of the blind receives an unnatural acuteness from the want of sight, so the monks of the middle ages, shut out from the perception of an intellectual beauty, concentrated their powers upon one material science, and brought it to a marvellous perfection."—I. 199.

It is curious to observe that when the crisis of the Reformation arrives, our author, justly enough, exhibits the Convocation and the Parliament as at variance. "In the former, Gardiner and the Romanist principles prevailed; in the latter, the principles of the Reformation were triumphant" (I. 223). The Parliament did not, however, wait for the Convocation, but itself originated and carried forward two measures respecting the Sacrament which lie at the foundation of the present system of the English Church; which is, therefore, to this extent at least, a *Parliamentary Church*, quite independent of, and even in opposition to, that ecclesiastical body whose individual members frequently claim for themselves and for the corporation to which they belong, a special and exclusive authority in things spiritual, whether as affecting doctrine or practice.

In a brief account of the "Feathers' Tavern Association," formed in 1789, for the purpose (among other things) of obtaining a revision of the Liturgy, and comprising nearly three hundred clergymen, besides many gentlemen and a few of the nobility, Mr. Marsden has occasion to notice the name of Gilbert Wakefield (I. 315). We think that he has by no means done justice to either the talents or the character of this upright and noble-minded confessor in the cause of truth and liberty. The strong convictions of a mind which has by much laborious and patient thought emancipated itself from the thraldom of early prejudices, will naturally suggest and demand strong expressions; nor is it to be required of the disciples of Christ, any more than of their Master, that they should not feel, or feeling should not express, their indignant contempt of the injustice and tyranny which their own noble integrity has brought upon them. Let it be remembered that Gilbert Wakefield gave up his preferment and prospects in the Church simply for conscience' sake;—that he suffered imprisonment in Dorchester gaol for a pamphlet which the very Prelate to whose "Address" it was an answer, acknowledged with expressions of candour and courtesy, and of admiration of the talents and industry of the writer, such as he could never have used had there been anything in it in the least opposed either to good taste, to good morals or to good citizenship;—let all this be remembered, and much more of the same kind that might be mentioned, and then we think that the conscientiousness and disinterested ardour which prompted his exertions and sacrifices, and which necessarily characterized his style, will scarcely stamp him as "an intemperate writer," or justify the insinuation that "his suggestions must be received with caution." We feel, moreover, quite at a loss to understand what objections Mr. Marsden can take to the view of Christianity as "a progressive science," which he quotes from this distinguished theologian (I. 315). Is it *not* true then, as Mr. Wakefield implies (we would respectfully ask Mr. Marsden)—is it *not* true that we *can* interpret the Scriptures now better than our fathers? Is it *not* true that the Liturgy contains "babbling repetitions and unscriptural formularies"? We respectfully recommend to Mr. Marsden's perusal the very affecting Memoirs of the life of this excellent man; and we are greatly mistaken if, after that perusal, Mr. M. will not readily admit the simple justice of the following estimate of his character from the pen of Dr. Parr. "For my part (says he) I shall ever think and speak of Mr. Wakefield as a very profound scholar, as a most honest man, and as a Christian who united knowledge with zeal, piety with benevolence, and the simplicity of a child with the fortitude of a martyr." (Wakefield's Memoirs, II. 325.) We sincerely think that this eulogium is as just as it is honourable to the memory of this eminent student and confessor, and to the

feelings of him who wrote it, and that it is fully borne out by every part of the records of Wakefield's life. We commend it to Mr. Marsden's candid consideration.

Before quitting this interesting article on the Church of England, we must not omit to notice the remarkable testimony to the efficacy of *the voluntary principle* which is given near its conclusion (I. 319 seq.); but we cannot do more than thus briefly point it out to our readers.

It will naturally be supposed that the article on Unitarians is that to which we turned with the greatest eagerness, in order to test the spirit and accuracy of these volumes. As a whole, we have great pleasure in awarding to it our cordial approbation; and this not the less freely because we discover here and there, as we might have expected, occasions for stricture, which Mr. Marsden, if we mistake not, will thank us for bringing to his notice. Why, for instance, should the absence of everything like an exclusive principle or spirit from our views of Christian salvation, subject us to the ironical sneer at our "pretensions to a more generous creed or a more enlarged benevolence"? (II. 339). And why, if our creed be more generous or our benevolence more enlarged than that of the supporters of an exclusive system, should we the less strongly condemn the atrocious crime which Calvin committed in the burning of Servetus, or fail to find a just satisfaction in branding it with the merited infamy? Surely, for the very reason that our theology is liberal, will our morality be proportionably strict; whence we cannot help condemning Calvin's treachery and cruelty in this proceeding, unless we will close our eyes altogether against the well-ascertained facts of the case. Genuine Christian charity (we will venture to assure Mr. Marsden, and to remind persons of our own communion who seem to be in danger of forgetting it) is of too discriminating a character to "call evil good, or good evil," though (and because) it "rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." Why, again, if "it is with reason that the Unitarians of later days object to be called Socinians" (II. 341), does Mr. Marsden persevere in calling us by this name throughout almost his entire work? But a more serious error needs to be corrected. From a statement which he makes, II. 342, we apprehend that Mr. Marsden regards the Unitarians as resting their faith on *à-priori* reasoning, rather than on the revelation which the Scriptures record. Quite the contrary. It is from the records of revelation interpreted by reason that we learn what the truth of the gospel really is; and as we do not discover in these records any disclosure of "the mode of the Divine existence," or of "the individual and simple essence of the Deity," we are constrained to reject all mere human philosophizing on these abstruse and incomprehensible subjects, as having certainly no necessary connection with divine revelation

or its purposes, and as being likely rather to lead the mind and heart astray, than to enlighten the one with wisdom or purify and raise the other with devotion.

It is always a shock to our feelings of reverence and gratitude to see the name and fame of the venerable *Priestley* called in question, whether by Trinitarian or Unitarian writers. We will confess, therefore, our surprise and regret in having to point out what we would willingly hope is, after all, only the printer's mistake, in designating "the founder of modern Unitarianism in England," as "*Robert* Priestley" (II. 349). We should have thought that every one who gave the smallest attention to these subjects must have heard of *Joseph* Priestley—and should least of all have anticipated such an error from a clergyman actually resident in *Birmingham*. We cannot, therefore, but hope that it is simply an error of the press. Still more surprised are we that so generally fair and candid a writer as Mr. Marsden should represent Dr. Priestley as disposing of "the testimony of the writers of the New Testament to the proper divinity of our Lord," by declaring himself "not a believer in the inspiration of the evangelists and apostles as writers" (II. 350). On the contrary, without any reference at all to any theory of inspiration, Dr. Priestley maintains and endeavours to prove that the New Testament writers do not, in fact, give any such testimony. We are not at all astonished that, in a subsequent part of this article, our author should introduce Dr. Channing as in many respects in contrast with Dr. Priestley; but we would respectfully ask him to point out wherein consists the "happy inconsistency which dictated the following sentences" (II. 356), quoted from Channing's Memoir, Vol. I. [pp. 210, 211]? Is it quite candid in a reader of this Memoir (as, from this reference, we presume that Mr. Marsden has been) to speak of Channing's rejection of "orthodox Trinitarian sentiments" in connection only with the remark that "his biographer indignantly disclaims the imputation that he ever embraced, or even approached" them?—and to follow up the remark by an "if so;" as though the fact were either doubtful, or rested mainly on the mere assertion of the biographer? (II. 356). Let Mr. Marsden or any one of our readers refer to Channing's Memoir (I. 161), and he will at once understand the real truth of the case and the reason of our protest. He will there see Dr. Channing's "*own testimony*, as given in later years, 'I was never in any sense a Trinitarian.'" And as regards the contrast between Channing and Priestley just noticed, we would wish Mr. Marsden and many of our Unitarian readers also to ponder well the significant fact that it is to Dr. Priestley's Sermon on Habitual Devotion that we are indebted for Mrs. Barbauld's eminently devout and *spiritual* "Address to the Deity,"—a hymn in which the warmth of genuine devotion is combined with the most re-

fined and spiritual conceptions of that gracious Father in heaven "in whom we live and move and have our being."

With the exception of the remarks which have called forth these, we trust, not unfriendly strictures, the article before us is distinguished by its truth and candour. Perhaps the perusal of these strictures, should they ever meet his eye, may suggest to the respected Author some reasons for the fact, if fact it be, why "no sect of equal numbers contributes so little through the press to the direct spiritual instruction of the people" (II. 357). Is there any other sect whose members enjoy and exercise the same amount of individual religious freedom, and who are consequently so little capable of being moved or directed *in the mass?* Is there any other sect whose theological writings are more steadily ignored by the leading religious professors of other denominations, or against whose teachings, whether from the pulpit or the press, more solemn warnings are proclaimed? On the other hand, is there any other sect whose characteristic doctrines and principles are more powerfully modifying the doctrines and principles of other churches and sects, provoking them to the exercise of thought and reason in connection with their religious belief, challenging them to the investigation of its grounds and character, proposing to them intelligible and consistent expositions of nature and of scripture, both severally and in combination, denouncing the spirit of anathema and exclusiveness, and cherishing that of uprightness and mutual love? Is there any other sect which is more consistently prominent in the exposure of fraud and injustice in connection with the sacred interests of religious truth and freedom,—in the endeavour to correct these giant evils, and to bring about the substitution of "simplicity and godly sincerity" for empty profession and deceitful casuistry? Long may we preserve and maintain the noble character which our illustrious religious forefathers have bequeathed to us! Conscious we may be—we Unitarians—of many deficiencies. May the time never come when we shall think that we have actually attained that perfection which it is our highest interest and privilege ever to seek! But let us at the same time "thank God and take courage." Let us persevere in every good word and work; knowing that this is the best return we can make to our Heavenly Father for our spiritual privileges, and to our fellow-men for that more just and candid and Christian appreciation which we are happy to see characterizing, in relation to ourselves and to many others, the views and statements of the Writer of this valuable History.

DOUGLASS'S BONDAGE AND FREEDOM.*

A LARGE portion of this volume is substantially the same as his "Narrative," which went through several editions about ten years ago; but, at the request of a friend, Douglass has re-written it, and it is an adequate expression of his great advance in literary attainment and power of thought during his life of freedom. Where physical force bears rule, captives have been the teachers of their captors, and slaves have been the intellectual superiors of their rude masters. Some of the most illustrious and popular authors, from Æsop to Cervantes, have been in bondage. It has, however, been the pretext of American despots, that their slaves are mentally deficient and despicable; whilst their intense anxiety to keep them from intellectual culture has belied the calumny. They have found, during the last few years especially, that these despised negroes have "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." Independently of the thrilling interest of many of the events recorded in this book, its manly eloquence and manifest ability will give it a high place in the republic of letters, and will indirectly conduce to raise the writer and his oppressed brethren in the social republic.

Douglass's first book was intended to reveal the horrors of slavery; this is a more complete autobiography: and living in his own home, surrounded by his family, he has been naturally led to dwell on the years of his childhood, of which he gives us some very graphic and interesting reminiscences.

He was taken from his mother's care while he was an infant, and entrusted to *her* mother, an old negress of spirit and power, marvellously straight in figure, elastic and muscular, who from her skill and thrift enjoyed a high reputation, of which her grandchildren reaped some of the benefit. He fondly pictures this first home, where he long remained in happy unconsciousness that he was a slave. He was at length removed to the house of his "old master," and here he saw for a few times his mother, who worked twelve miles off, and, not being allowed to be absent from her task, had chiefly to visit him by night.

It is unknown to him who his white father was: all his filial feeling centres on his mother, who seems to have been by no means a commonplace woman.

"Her personal appearance and bearing are ineffaceably stamped upon my memory. She was tall, and finely proportioned; of deep black, glossy complexion; had regular features, and, among the other slaves, was remarkably sedate in her manners. There is in 'Prichard's Natural History of Man' the head of a figure on page 157 [Ramses the

* My Bondage and my Freedom. Part I. Life as a Slave. Part II. Life as a Freeman. By Frederick Douglass. With an Introduction by Dr. James M'Cune Smith. With a Portrait, &c. Post 8vo. Pp. 464. New York. 1855.

Great], the features of which so resemble those of my mother, that I often recur to it with something of the feeling which I suppose others experience when looking upon the pictures of dear departed ones."—P. 52.

He recals with great delight one occasion on which she arrived unexpectedly, and defended him victoriously from the cruelty of the kitchen virago, aunt Katy. This is his last remembrance of her; and though he was too young and thoughtless to feel it at the time, he now feels the wrong inflicted on his mother and himself by their compulsory separation, even when she was lying on her death-bed.

"The counsels of her love must have been beneficial to me. The side view of her face is imaged on my memory; and I take few steps in life without feeling her presence; but the image is mute, and I have no striking words of hers treasured up. I learnt after my mother's death that she could read, and that she was the *only* one of all the slaves and coloured people in Tuckahoe who enjoyed that advantage." P. 57.

When the parent dies, love does not die, if family union appears more essential and sacred than ever; but from infancy the children of this poor slave had been dispersed, and when they met they wanted all those early associations which are ties as strong as relationship.

"Think it not strange, dear reader, that so little sympathy of feeling existed between us. The conditions of brotherly and sisterly feeling were wanting—we had never nestled and played together. My poor mother, like many other slave-women, had *many children*, but NO FAMILY! The domestic hearth, with its holy lessons and precious endearments, is abolished in the case of a slave-mother and her children. 'Little children, love one another,' are words seldom heard in a slave cabin."—P. 48.

We suppose that the absence of family attachments would lead the slave either to feel more affectionately towards strangers who shewed him kindness, or else to nurture a gloomy self-dependence. Both these results appear in the present instance. He treasures all instances of kindness shewn to him in his unprotected and forlorn condition; but the evils of his lot soon made him thoughtful, and he early learnt that he suffered because he was a slave. He felt not as one who is a slave by nature, and must make the best of his condition; but as free and wrongfully enthralled. He had remarkable opportunities for becoming acquainted with a system, the particulars of which vary, of course, according to its instruments. His master was steward to Col. Lloyd, one of the wealthiest planters in Maryland, of which State he was once the Governor. No doubt a traveller who had heard only of the physical miseries of slaves, would have been agreeably disappointed when he visited this luxurious abode. About fifteen slaves, men and maidens, waited at table:

"These servants constituted a sort of black aristocracy on Col. Lloyd's plantation. They resembled the field hands in nothing, except in colour, and in this they held the advantage of a velvet-like glossiness, rich and beautiful. The hair too shewed the same advantage. The delicate coloured maid rustled in the scarcely worn silk of her young mistress, while the servant men were equally well attired from the overflowing wardrobes of their young masters; so that, in dress, as well as in form and feature, in manner and speech, in tastes and habits, the distance between these favoured few, and the sorrow and hunger-smitten multitudes of the quarter and the field, was immense; and this is seldom passed over."—P. 109.

The plantation was a secluded one, and frightful atrocities were practised upon it: an appeal against a savage overseer met with no credence or redress. The visitor would hear nothing of them.

"Slaveholders have been known to send spies among their slaves, to ascertain, if possible, their views and feelings in regard to their condition: the frequency of this has had the effect to establish among the slaves the maxim, that a still tongue makes a wise head."—P. 117.

A slave of Col. Lloyd's was sold to a Georgia trader, without any warning, for having complained, when asked, that he was not well treated. Douglass says that he always answered, that he had a kind master—meaning that he was kind compared with others. It seems an additional disgrace to have to confess oneself under the rule of a mean and worthless man; and slaves often contend warmly for the superior excellence of their respective masters, whilst they unite in hating slavery.

Those who lay so much stress on the cheerfulness of the slaves, should read the following touching passage:

"Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by masters or overseers. 'Make a noise,' 'make a noise,' and 'bear a hand,' are the words usually addressed to the slaves when there is silence amongst them. This may account for the almost constant singing heard in the Southern states. There was generally more or less singing among the teamsters, as it was one means of letting the overseer know where they were, and that they were moving on with the work. But, on allowance day, those who visited the great house farm were peculiarly excited and noisy. While on their way, they would make the dense old woods, for miles around, reverberate with their wild notes. These were not always merry because they were wild. On the contrary, they were mostly of a plaintive cast, and told a tale of grief and sorrow. In the most boisterous outbursts of rapturous sentiment, there was ever a tinge of deep melancholy. I have never heard any songs like those anywhere since I left slavery, except when in Ireland. There I heard the same *wailing notes*, and was much affected by them. It was during the famine of 1845-6. In all the songs of the slaves, there was ever some expression of praise of the great house farm; something that would flatter the pride of the owner, and possibly draw a favourable glance from him.

'I am going away to the great house farm,
O yea! O yea! O yea!
My old master is a good old master,
O yea! O yea! O yea!'

This they would sing, with other words of their own improvising—jargon to others, but full of meaning to themselves. I have sometimes thought, that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress truly spiritual-minded men and women with the soul-crushing and death-dealing character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of its mere physical cruelties. They speak to the heart and soul of the thoughtful. I cannot better express my sense of them now, than ten years ago, when in sketching my life, I thus spoke of this feature of my plantation experience: 'I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meanings of those rude, and apparently incoherent, songs. I was myself within the circle, so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones, loud, long and deep, breathing the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. The hearing of those wild notes always depressed my spirits, and filled my heart with ineffable sadness. The mere recurrence, even now, afflicts my spirit, and while I am writing these lines, my tears are falling. To those songs I trace my first glimmering conceptions of the dehumanizing character of slavery. I can never get rid of that conception. Those songs still follow me, to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathies for my brethren in bonds. If any one wishes to be impressed with a sense of the soul-killing power of slavery, let him go to Col. Lloyd's plantation, and, on allowance day, place himself in the deep pine woods, and there let him, in silence, thoughtfully analyze the sounds that shall pass through the chambers of his soul, and if he is not thus impressed it will only be because 'there is no flesh in his obdurate heart.'

"The remark is not unfrequently made, that slaves are the most contented and happy laborers in the world. They dance and sing and make all manner of joyful noises—so they do; but it is a great mistake to suppose them happy because they sing. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows rather than the joys of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. Such is the constitution of the human mind, that when pressed to extremes, it often avails itself of the most opposite methods. Extremes meet in mind as in matter. When the slaves on board of the 'Pearl' were overtaken, arrested, and carried back to prison—their hopes for freedom blasted—as they marched in chains they sang, and found (as Emily Edmunson tells us) a melancholy relief in singing. The singing of a man cast away on a desolate island, might be as appropriately considered an evidence of his contentment and happiness, as the singing of a slave. Sorrow and desolation have their songs, as well as joy and peace. Slaves sing more to *make* themselves happy, than to express their happiness." Pp. 97—100.

Perhaps Mrs. Stowe had the passage from the Narrative in her mind, when she describes the slaves singing on Legree's plantation,—Uncle Tom, Chap. xxxii.

When he was about ten years old, he was removed to Baltimore, and soon found a marked difference in his condition. The intellect of the inhabitant of a city is quickened in various ways, unknown to the secluded rustic, and the influence of public opinion represses many of the outrages felt by the plantation slave. He was fortunately placed under a kind mistress, to whom he almost felt as to a mother. She was beginning to educate him, when she was promptly forbidden by her husband, who told her, in the child's hearing, that there would be no keeping him if she did. From that time her conduct changed; and Douglass impressively describes the injurious effects of slave-holding on a gentle and pious woman. Though deprived of her lessons, he derived a vast stimulus to self-improvement from the hint dropped by his master, that knowledge was the pathway to freedom. The narrative of his efforts for education is extremely interesting. When he was thirteen, he perused the Columbian Orator, which contained eloquent speeches in favour of freedom; this opened new thoughts to him, and gave words to many of his undefined but passionate emotions. His aspirations after personal liberty were happily blended with religious influences. He felt the need of God as a Father and Protector, and was impressed by the preaching of a white Methodist minister:

"I cannot say that I had a very distinct notion of what was required of me; but one thing I knew very well—I was wretched, and had no means of making myself otherwise. Moreover, I knew that I could pray for light. I consulted a good coloured man, named Charles Johnson; and in tones of holy affection he told me to pray, and what to pray for. I was, for weeks, a poor broken-hearted mourner, travelling through the darkness and misery of doubts and fears. I finally found that change of heart which comes by casting all one's care upon God, and by having faith in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, Friend, and Saviour of those who diligently seek Him. After this, I saw the world in a new light. I seemed to live in a new world, surrounded by new objects, and to be animated by new hopes and desires."—P. 166.

A coloured man of remarkable piety, called Uncle Lawson, who might have been the prototype of "Uncle Tom," whom he loved intensely as his spiritual father, assured him that the Lord had a great work for him to do, for which he must prepare faithfully by reading and prayer.

"Thus assured, and cheered on, under the inspiration of hope, I worked and prayed with a light heart, believing that my life was under the guidance of a wisdom higher than my own. With all other blessings sought at the mercy-seat, I always prayed that God would, of His great mercy and in His own good time, deliver me from my bondage." P. 169.

Our limits prevent us from referring to the various events of his life. The time when freedom seemed furthest from him was when he was crushed under the hard rule of Covey, the "negro

breaker." This man's brutality at length led to a reaction, and the reader is gratified with the conflict in which the slave's physical powers gain the mastery. Douglass objects to abject submission; he believes that it not only paralyzes the spirit of the slave, but increases the insolence of the tyrant.

"The old doctrine, that submission is the best cure for outrage and wrong, does not hold good on the slave plantation. He is whipped oftenest, who is whipped easiest; and that slave who has the courage to stand up for himself against the overseer, although he may have many hard stripes at the first, becomes in the end a freeman, even though he sustain the formal relation of a slave."—P. 95.

He was hired afterwards by Mr. Freeland, who was the kindest master he ever had. Whilst with him, he instituted a Sunday-school, but secretly, since a former attempt had been opposed with outrage.

"I had at one time more than forty scholars, all of the right sort; and many of them succeeded in learning to read. I have met several slaves from Maryland, who were once my scholars; and who obtained their freedom, I doubt not, partly in consequence of the ideas imparted to them in that school. I have had various employments during my short life; but I look back to none with more satisfaction than to that afforded by my Sunday-school. * * Besides my Sunday-school, I devoted three evenings a week to my fellow-slaves during the winter."—P. 267.

In the year 1836, when he was about nineteen, he resolved to escape. He eloquently describes the terrors that beset the fugitive, and the risk he runs of injuring his fellow-slaves whether he succeed or fail; on this account, there is always a motive to timid slaves to betray any plot for escape. This seems to have been the case in the present instance, for he and his companions were mysteriously detected. After he had been committed to prison, he was taken back by his Baltimore master, who found him employment as a ship caulker. Douglass felt the outrageous injustice of slavery, in being compelled to give all his hard-earned wages to his so-called owner. His condition was not, however, without alleviations. He joined a Mental Improvement Society, conducted by free coloured men, where he often took part in the debates. For three dollars a-week, his master at length allowed him to hire himself out, and gain what he could by extra labour. When this liberty was taken from him, he determined to escape at all hazards, and succeeded in 1838.

From pp. 335—406, he concisely records the half of his life which he has spent as a freeman. The first rapture of freedom was tempered by anxieties:

"Free and joyous, however, as I was, joy was not the only sensation I experienced. It was like the quick blaze, beautiful at the first, but which, subsiding, leaves the building charred and desolate. I was soon taught that I was still in an enemy's land. A sense of loneliness and insecurity oppressed me sadly."—P. 337.

"A man homeless, shelterless, breadless, friendless and moneyless, is not in a condition to assume a very proud or joyous tone; and in just this condition was I, while wandering about the streets of New York city, and lodging, at least one night, among the barrels on one of its wharves. I was not only free from slavery, but free from home as well." P. 340.

Within a fortnight, however, he had found friends, had been married, and was safe in New Bedford, where benevolent Friends and respectable coloured people abound. White caulkers would not permit him to work with them.

"The difference between the wages of a caulker and that of a common day labourer, was an hundred per cent. in favour of the former; but then I was free, and free to work, though not at my trade. I now prepared myself to do anything which came to hand in the way of turning an honest penny; sawed wood—dug cellars—shoveled coal—swept chimneys with Uncle Lucas Debuty—rolled oil casks on the wharves—helped to load and unload vessels—worked in Ricketson's candle works—in Richmond's brass foundry, and elsewhere—and thus supported myself and family for three years."—P. 349.

Whilst thus proving that it was no dislike to hard work which had made him a fugitive, he attended the meetings of the coloured people for discussion and social improvement, and became a class leader and local preacher among the Zion Methodists. He also took the "Liberator." This paper, and its editor, W. L. Garrison, were then the objects of his highest admiration. In the summer of 1841, Douglass was induced to speak at an anti-slavery convention. His speech, and that of Garrison who followed him, excited a remarkable sensation, and he was persuaded to become an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society. His coloured friends considered that he demeaned himself, as well as ran great risks, by telling the story of his slave life; but he had now fuller scope to do battle with the system he hated, and he felt it a privilege to be received as a fellow-labourer by some of the best and most cultivated people of New England. His Narrative was published, to satisfy the doubts of those who denied that he could have been a slave, and to relieve himself from the repetition of his tale, which he found irksome and distasteful. His voyage to England followed, where he was well advertised by his southern fellow-passengers, who had raised a mob against him in the Cambria. With great good taste, he passes very briefly over the triumphant two years he spent in this country, where he found that his colour and his origin excited sympathy instead of disgust. English friends purchased his freedom before he returned to a land where he had been in constant danger of recapture, and raised £500 to establish a paper, which he hoped to make an instrument for the elevation of his people. He writes:

"The paper has been successful. It is a large sheet, costing eighty dollars per week—has three thousand subscribers, has been published

regularly nearly eight years, and bids fair to stand eight years longer. At any rate, the eight years to come are as full of promise as were the eight that is past."—P. 394.

From the very low charge, the paper is not self-supporting, in this respect resembling the other anti-slavery organs; it continues to receive aid from England; some of his old friends subscribe for it, and others enable him to send it gratuitously to poor coloured persons. The difficulties through which it has struggled are creditable to his perseverance, energy and ability.

We have neither space nor inclination to enter on the controversy between him and his old friends the Garrisonians, to which he calmly and briefly alludes. We think him right in his main principles, and even were it otherwise, should wish him to maintain an independent position. We sympathize with his unceasing efforts to rouse and elevate his coloured brethren; for whilst slavery lends its ignominy to crush the emancipated, the crushed condition of the emancipated is the most plausible plea for slavery. He stimulates them to that vigorous bodily industry by which he proved his energies before he unwillingly entered on the life of a lecturer; he leads them on by stirring words and brave example to battle for civil and social equality with their white countrymen; and every triumph which his remarkable powers enable him to achieve, he reckons to the gain of his race. The friends of the negro must be careful lest they unconsciously imitate those who are affronted by the "sauciness of the free niggers." The change from a degraded carelessness to a prudent self-regard, and from mean dependence to courageous self-assertion, will not always be effected in an agreeable manner. If the negro is to be free, he will share the faults of the free; yet it is better that he should sometimes err, than remain in perpetual pupilage; and we had rather that he should be encouraged to walk for himself, though he may fall or walk away from us, than be kept in leading-strings. From a child, Douglass has shewn an ardent desire to improve himself and his people, and there are many in this country who will watch his onward course with interest. We see proofs that he is rising in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and he has recently been engaged in lecturing before educational institutions, lyceums, and even a college. This book will add to his reputation, and we shall the less regret the fewness of our extracts from it, if our readers procure it for themselves.

R. L. C.

MONUMENT TO WILLIAM ROSCOE IN RENSHAW-STREET CHAPEL LIVERPOOL.

In the little grave-yard attached to Renshaw-Street chapel, Liverpool, lie the remains of two of the remarkable men who have adorned the Unitarian church in modern times. One began life as a Spanish priest,—he became a clergyman of the English Establishment,—he threw off trammel after trammel that bound him,—and at last found rest for his unquiet spirit in the free theology and hopeful faith of our small, proscribed community. And very near poor Blanco White is the flat stone that bears the name of William Roscoe. The son of a market-gardener, his talent and integrity have made him respected and honoured far beyond the limits of the church to which he belonged, or the town where he was born. To him, Liverpool owes some of her most valuable institutions. He founded the Athenæum, the Botanic Gardens, the Royal Institution. He supported every liberal and every philanthropic endeavour. He was the friend of the prisoner, the pauper, and the slave. But it is as the scholar and historian that he will hereafter be most remembered. No Englishman can ever visit Florence, or talk of the Medicis, without gratitude to him whose laborious research and graphic pen first made the history of those Florentine merchants known to all the world.

No proof more striking of the strong hold which Roscoe's memory still retains in the hearts of his fellow-citizens could be given, than the celebration in 1853 of the centenary of his birth. At that celebration, however, one point of interest was passed by; for, by some strange apathy, twenty-two years had been suffered to elapse, and no worthy monument had been placed to mark the historian's grave. This omission has been now repaired. A committee of gentlemen connected with Renshaw-Street chapel, issued a circular requesting subscriptions from the congregation for the erection of a suitable monument. Among this committee were Mr. Rathbone, Roscoe's oldest friend, and Mr. Hawthorne, the American consul, and the greatest prose writer of his country.

The subscription list (aided by a donation from Mr. T. B. Barclay of a balance remaining from a former fund) was soon completed, and the monument was entrusted to the skill of Mr. Edward Davis. The result is most successful. Within a niche of grey marble is the white bust of Roscoe, which is said to be the finest likeness ever taken. The inscription is short and appropriate,—"William Roscoe, Historian, Poet, Patriot and Christian Philanthropist,"—with the dates of his birth and death and the erection of the monument. The cost was a hundred and fifty guineas.

Besides this monument in the chapel itself, a handsome slab of red Scotch granite, with Roscoe's name upon it, has been inserted in the chapel wall, immediately above his grave.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON THE MEANING IN SCRIPTURE OF THE WORD "CLOUD."

The word "cloud" occurs about two dozen times in the New Testament, and generally in connection with some spiritual meaning or figure, the only exceptions being, indeed, Luke xii. 15, and 2 Peter ii. 17, and Jude 12, in which the imagery is natural. The first mention is in the description of the Transfiguration, where the bright cloud suddenly overshadows Jesus, from which proceeds the heavenly voice declaring him to be the beloved Son in whom God is well pleased. The same cloud is described in Mark and Luke in their accounts, though without the appellation "bright;" and it is evident the cloud was to the apostles present a sign of the unseen, therefore of mystery and awe. They were overshadowed by the cloud as if to represent to their minds in the most forcible manner that they saw these things, great and glorious revelations as they were, but in a glass darkly. The second occurrence of the phrase "cloud" occurs in the declarations made by Jesus himself of his coming, in Matt. xiv., to his disciples, and, xxvi. 64, to the Sanhedrim. Mark and Luke describe the same event in exactly similar language, except that in Luke the word "cloud" is omitted when Jesus speaks of his "coming" before the Council. The next occurrence of the word "cloud" is by Luke, in the description of Christ's Ascension, when a cloud interposed as he left earth and received him out of the spectators' sight; and the commissioned messenger tells the disciples that the Lord who had thus disappeared would return to them in like manner as they had seen him depart, repeating and corroborating the words used by Christ himself, that, in the clouds which pass between the mortal eye in this earthly life, and heaven, the spiritual state, upon these clouds, before representing the darkness of mortality and futurity, the glorious sign of the Son of Man, the hope of humanity, should become manifested to all the earth, and their eyes, those of his faithful, affectionate followers, should plainly see him, the living and abiding One, the Son of *Man*.

The descriptions given in Rev. i. 7, "He cometh with clouds and every eye shall see him," and xiv. 14, "One sitting on a cloud like the Son of Man," seem, as far as they are to be understood, to refer to the same idea and image as employed by the three earlier evangelists. The use of clouds in all St. Paul's descriptions of the Resurrection, 1 Thess. iv. 17, evidently implies the same meaning of the veil which exists between the mortal eye and the heavenly life, as if he said, there is a veil, but we shall penetrate through it. All the clouds which hang upon the existence of those whose mortal life was before the light of Christ, as of ourselves who have lived in that light, will be eventually passed through, and all will emerge into the life with Christ. Again, the mention of the cloud introduced in Cor. x. 1, 2, and by St. Paul, in his comparison of the Jewish dispensation with the Christian, "The cloud under which our fathers were in their wanderings to the Promised Land," evidently bears the same meaning of the unseen, the veiled, therefore an object of spiritual faith and obedience, as "they all ate the spiritual food and drank the spiritual water from the anointed rock"—that is, the food which led their thoughts to God, and the water which was consecrated to them as from God.

It is worth observing that the words of St. Paul, in Thessalonians, "We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and thus shall we be *ever* with the Lord," completely refute any idea of a millennium, which it has been believed, and still appears to be confessedly maintained by many, that St. Paul taught, especially in this earlier stage of his apostolic writings; though how it can be rationally supposed that the short space of eight or ten years, which includes, according to common dates, the earliest and latest of his Epistles, should have also contained a change of views of such immense importance in a life of apostolic labour and instruction extending over thirty years, it is difficult to understand. But these conjectures, and others connected with the supposed speedy coming of Christ, are nearly allied with the use and meaning of the phrase "day" in New-Testament language, on which we hope to be permitted soon to offer a few words.

The Old-Testament use of the word "cloud" is generally as natural as the New, with the exception of that very significant use of the cloud which, as a pillar leading up from and uniting earth to heaven, was the commissioned guide of the Israelite wanderings towards the Promised Land; there it appears a veil in the noon-day, a sign of the unknown and invisible, but as hiding something to be revealed in God's time. No more striking agreement of imagery can be presented than by the Bow on the Cloud, which God assigns as the witness of his mercy to Noah and his descendants in the renewed world they were to inhabit.

S.*

MR. HOLLAND ON THE THEISTICAL ARGUMENT FROM GRAVITATION.

Sir,

I have been very much gratified by the "Thoughts on Secular Atheism" which have appeared in your late numbers; but I think the argument from gravitation may be put in a still clearer and stronger light. If you agree with me, perhaps you will insert the following remarks.

We are accustomed to talk of the law of gravitation, almost as if it were some power inherent in matter, regulating its motions. But when we reflect upon what that law really implies, we shall, I think, be led to a very different conclusion. The force of attraction between different bodies varies directly as their weight, and inversely as the squares of their distance from each other. Now, when we attempt to conceive how such a law is put in force, it obviously requires a knowledge of the precise weight of every planet, sun and star in the universe, and of their exact distance from one another, at every instant of time. For those distances are continually changing, in consequence of the various motions of the planets and other heavenly bodies. Are we then to suppose that every particle of matter is capable of a knowledge like this? This, surely, is an idea which no reasonable creature can entertain for a moment. There remains, then, no other possible supposition but that the force of attraction is owing to the continual agency of a Being who is possessed of this infinite knowledge, and who is capable also of ex-

erting his power at the same time in every part of the boundless universe. The mind of man, indeed, faints and sinks under the attempt to conceive of a Being of such knowledge and such power. Yet the law of attraction clearly implies his existence, and his boundless power, his boundless wisdom, his constant energy. And we conclude with the poet,

> "Is matter deeply skilled
> In Mathematics? Has it framed such laws
> Which but to guess, a Newton made immortal?
> If wisdom to contrive,
> And that with greater far than human skill,
> Resides not in each block, a Godhead reigns.
> And, if a God there be, that God how great!"

This furnishes us with an answer from analogy to the difficulty which the bounded nature of our own faculties leads us to imagine, in believing that the Deity at once regulates the affairs of innumerable worlds, and yet takes cognizance of every minute particular relating to every one of his creatures upon this earth. For if, as I think, we cannot account for the law of attraction, except by ascribing it to the universal agency of the Deity; it follows, that that agency is as much displayed in the fall of an apple from the tree, as in the motions of the planets; the one being to Him no greater than the other. And therefore the immensity of his works, and the infinity of worlds which are under his government, ought to present no difficulty to our full belief, that He counts the very hairs of our heads, and observes every, even the minutest action of our lives. The difficulty in both cases arises from our not forming sufficiently adequate conceptions of the greatness of that Being, in comparison with whom the greatest and the least of all created things sink into equality.

T. C. Holland.

CROMWELL AND THE PURITANS OF AMERICA.

He declared himself "truly ready to serve the brethren and the churches" in America. The declaration was sincere. The people of New England were ever sure that Cromwell would listen to their requests, and would take an interest in all the little details of their condition. He left them independence and favoured their trade. When his arms had made the conquest of Jamaica, he offered them the island, with the promise of all the wealth which the tropical clime pours prodigally into the lap of industry; and though they frequently thwarted his views, they never forfeited his regard. English history must judge of Cromwell by his influence on the institutions of England; the American colonies remember the years of his power as the period when British sovereignty was for them free from rapacity, intolerance and oppression. He may be called the benefactor of the English in America; for he left them to enjoy unshackled the liberal benevolence of Providence, the freedom of industry, of commerce, of religion, and of government.—*Bancroft's History of America*, I. 446.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The New Testament, translated from Griesbach's Text. By Samuel Sharpe, Author of the History of Egypt. Third Edition. Thomas Hodgson, Paternoster Row. 1856.

In the Edinburgh Review of October, 1855, is an article headed *Paragraph Bibles.** It is a plea for putting the Bible into a natural and readable shape, by the proper use of paragraph, type and quotation, just as is employed to give life and expressiveness to all books besides. It would disencumber it of its pendant chains of verse and chapter (which were only hung on to answer to the note of the first Concordance), and set it forth simple and natural as the exact expression of what it represents. The article is a further plea not only for a corrected translation, but for a corrected original up to the most recent results of examined MSS., from which such translation should be made. For this purpose it asks for a Commission from the Royal Head of the Anglican Church, of the most eminent Hebrew, Greek and English scholars, from whose labours might be expected a version of the Bible that should correctly represent the sense of the inspired authors. And we quite agree with the reviewer, that, had we such a version, "the piety of the people would increase, and their unchristian differences would diminish, as the sense of the authorities to which they all appeal was set more fully and distinctly and accurately before them." Most gladly and sincerely do we welcome from so influential a quarter the aid it opportunely brings towards so desirable a result. Its indication is aid in itself. The community, as itself says, is prepared for it, seeking it and asking for it. The works which the reviewer prefixes to his article are a sign, viz., the Annotated Paragraph Bible of the Religious Tract Society, and another similarly divided; both in the Authorized Version, and of the date 1853. *We* think he might have found other and more worthy signs, earlier, more abundant, and the fruit of the requisite learning which he misses here. Must we ascribe his omission to unfairness, or ignorance, or the timid policy of a semi-orthodox partizan, or to all these causes conjoined? There are glimpses of all in his paper. He would not have a tendency to any particular school of theology in a version of the Scriptures (p. 428); yet, if the movement for it is to emanate from the Head of the Anglican Church, and must not be "irrever*endly* dealt by" (p. 434), what does he mean by it? When he would take Isaiah instead of a Bible into the fields at evening (p. 420), or mentions Dr. Blayney in a note (p. 431) in connection with the Authorized Version, it was very apposite to have quoted wonderfully greater, both for paragraph and translation, than the small affair of the Religious Tract Society, which though, as without authority, unlearned and anonymous, he would not have aspire to anything greater, he yet, with a certain degree of complacency, contemplates as likely to do so (p. 434). Where was Archbishop Newcome and the learned in every church who alone claim to be heard on such a question, and have done all this a

* Since this notice was written, we have seen the following advertisement: "The State of the English Bible. By the Rev. W. Harness, M.A. Reprinted from the Edinburgh Review. Fcap. 8vo, 1*s.* 6*d.* Longman." We presume the reprint is of the article here noticed.

century ago? Granting our reviewer his knowledge, we must suppose perhaps, he condescended to men of low estate in these subjects (p. 426), and we are sorry the estate *is* low. Nevertheless, we deem it the part of those who know, not to hide their knowledge, but to lift others into its light. The very fact of the reviewer's assertion that the public mind is ready for the work, is proof he must have known something of what has made it ready—certainly, as a writer on such a theme, he ought to know. But the truth is, it is a politic and rather a prejudiced article, and we think very much beneath the standard of readers the Edinburgh has been used to and desires. Were it otherwise, we doubt whether the real truth would have been spoken either in reference to the subject or those who have done most to advance it. For who is ignorant of English, and especially of *Scotch*, Bibliolatry, or of the monkish proverb, *Si est bonus grammaticus est hæreticus* (Depend upon it, if he knows grammar, he's a heretic)—that the light of criticism is the fear of orthodoxy—that the most learned and unbiassed critics restore a very simple gospel—and that friends of that simple gospel are attracted to their labours? We know very well, and therefore perhaps we must pardon our reviewer, that when such as he admit and administer the light which can no longer be denied, they are rather dazzled with the glare, and, taking it into their own hands, are careful not to blind the eyes of those they escort—in fact, borrow a lantern from one of themselves to prevent its being blown out, and to shield and guide it on their own path; otherwise he might certainly have enlightened his readers with something more than the ray of the Paragraph Bible of the Religious Tract Society, which, after all, he does not think much above a farthing candle compared with what it might have been. We cannot so easily pardon him, however—certainly we owe him no thanks —for dragging us in for a share of the darkness, by way of compensation for not acknowledging our light. He must have known very well that the Religious Tract Society is *not* supported by all classes of English Protestants. But this is the perpetual fraud of dominancy; the constant arrogation of spiritual pride Number Two, in order to make head against spiritual pride Number One; certain parties are the *Nonconformists;* Milton Hall ditto; WE are the people—hear *us*. How dishonest—and in religion too! Have they no Ananias and Sapphira pangs now and then? At all events, part of the price has been kept back here: be it known we are not supporters of the Religious Tract Society. Part of the price, too, and a great part, has been kept back from the contribution the reviewer welcomes. He must have known, or ought to have known, of Geddes, of Belsham, of Wellbeloved, of the Layman, of Mr. Sharpe, as well as of Scott, of Adam Clarke, of D'Oyley, and Mant, and the Paragraph Bible. If he did not like their image and superscription, he might have praised their *form*, which is the very aim and search of his lucubrations—the straightforward, natural, continuous shape of a narrating book; and he might have praised more—he might have praised a *translator* as a more faithful servant of Scripture than a commentator. (Most justly does Mr. Sharpe, in his Preface, quote from Matthew Henry, "The philology of the critics hath been of much more advantage to religion, and lent more light to sacred truth, than the philosophy of the school divines.") He might have justified his own position, not very boldly taken (for while he bows to the An-

glicans, he looks down on the Tract Society), that knowledge of the subject should be the only test: he might have instanced a communion of Protestants by whom sacred learning has ever been more highly prized than by their fellows; and if this was not legitimate ground to stand upon, by his own confession there is no other. He might have said a word, too, of professional bias apart, in the case of the two Laymen who, after greater names — nay, the greatest — had cleared the sacred text.

> We must not stint our necessary actions
> In the fear to cope malicious censurers:

and we wish this other great Layman could be effectually heard amid the frauds and fears and meannesses of the Church.

We have therefore put Mr. Sharpe at the head of our article, since the contributor to the Edinburgh has refused him the place in his. But we may be doing him weak service after all. For he is up with the Edinburgh notwithstanding. Hear his advertisement: "Just published, THIRD EDITION, small 8vo [convenient for carrying into the fields], price 4*s.* 6*d.*, bound in cloth, lettered, with red edges [quite proper for the Anglican Church], THE NEW TESTAMENT, translated from Griesbach's Text. By Samuel Sharpe, Esq., Author of the History of Egypt, &c. &c.

"The following extract from the article on Biblical Literature in the Edinburgh Review for October, 1855, shews that Mr. Sharpe's method of printing his Testament has been approved and recommended by the reviewer:

"It might have been fairly expected that, in publishing a work which is of such momentous consequence to us all, both here and hereafter, the text would have been fairly divided into paragraphs according to the sense; that what was spoken would have been placed between inverted commas; and that all passages, taken by one sacred writer from another, been printed in italics, or in some easily intelligible manner distinguished as a quotation."

A most clever and necessary postscript; fair challenge; honourable reminder. The skiff rides proudly in the wake of the great steamer, tossed into conspicuousness by its swell, and will be fairly, if not first, in port, though the stately ship declines taking its passengers on board: at the same time, "it might have been fairly expected" that, having even anticipated its signal, it would have been the first to be welcomed to its company. What must we say to the Christian knowledge or virtues of professed instructors of their age, if they deal thus with those who have long ago instructed *them?* Mr. Sharpe has done wisely, but he has done faithfully too; we only wish, while others are as wise, they were as bold and honest as he is.

In his Preface, he says, p. iv,

"In this Third Edition, as in the Second of 1844, the translator has taken advantage of numerous friendly criticisms, and of further study, to correct faults which had before escaped him."

We have always thought Mr. Sharpe's version peculiarly useful to the English reader; it is so exact; it gives what we may call the Greek English, some think too Greek; but amid the variety of translations, it is most useful to have one of this kind. If we have less of English idiom, we have more of the Greek and contemporaneous idea; and this to the merely English reader is an important gain.

We had intended saying something of the mode in which it may be hoped that a correcter version than the one in common use might be made to take its place. We are aware of Mr. Heywood's motion on the subject, and that the religious society to which Mr. Sharpe belongs has adopted a Petition to the House of Commons in its favour.* We hail the advent of the subject on the public stage, and we may be permitted honestly to rejoice that our own communion, as in that of University Reform and other great preceding and kindred measures, have been the prime movers in it. Whatever difficulties of initiation and execution may attend it,—and we cannot conceal from ourselves that they are both numerous and great,—we shall at all events have had sufficing satisfaction in provoking others to so good a work: and until that is done in other sections of the church which in our small communion we have very considerably and creditably accomplished,—until, perhaps also, we ourselves have done more,—it were vain to expect that an act of authority can avail, or perhaps even would be resorted to. Finally, were it had recourse to, we believe the greatest difficulty would remain —the difficulty, namely, of the authority itself.

The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, revised from Critical Sources; being an Attempt to present a purer and more correct Text than the Received one of Van der Hooght; by the Aid of the best existing Materials; with the principal Various Readings found in MSS., Ancient Versions, Jewish Books and Writers, Parallels, Quotations, &c. &c. By Samuel Davidson, D.D., &c. 8vo. Pp. xvi—222.

We purposely copy the whole of this somewhat elaborate title-page, in order to point out the extraordinary error, or oversight—to use the gentlest term possible—which it contains, and which was surely little to be anticipated from either the learned author or his publishers. "The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament revised," &c. What *can* any reader expect from such an announcement as this, except the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, actually revised, according to the editor's power and knowledge, "by the aid of the best existing materials"? And what is it that is here really given to us? Simply *a list of various readings*, by which the reader may, if he chooses to follow them, form a revised text for himself, but which have certainly not been applied to that purpose by Dr. Davidson! We will, however, let the author explain the nature of the work in his own words. Speaking in reference to Hamilton's *Codex Criticus*, a somewhat similar book to the present, published in 1821, he observes,

"The work now before the reader may be regarded as a more ambitious attempt to exhibit a standard text, agreeably to the best authorities, and to the most probable view entertained by the writer. It was his original intention to have the Hebrew text printed entire, with such emendations in it as seemed to him desirable, thus presenting a standard text throughout to the eye of the reader, with the most important authorities below; but unforeseen obstacles occurred to thwart his design. When, therefore, it was determined to print the various readings alone, the author could only mark *in them* those which he judged the true ones."—Introd., pp. ix, x.

This passage, according to our "most probable view," indicates that the author, in writing it, had but a confused idea of the difference

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* A few other Unitarian congregations have done the same.

between a "standard text," fully given, and a selection of "various readings alone." The latter words, however, truly describe the real character of this volume, which, most strangely and unwarrantably, as we submit, has been put forth under a title which ought only to have been given to a volume containing "the Hebrew text printed entire."

Yet let us, under this protest, admit that Dr. Davidson has done a useful work, in publishing this list of various readings in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The book is, as he says he "wishes it to be distinctly understood that he has only endeavoured to make" it, a "*contribution* towards the formation of a revised text of the Old Testament, accompanied with the necessary critical authorities." Here, again, we have a correct description of the work. It is "a *contribution* towards the formation of a revised text." It presents in a compendious form, and with a clear and convenient arrangement, varieties of reading in the Hebrew Bible which would sometimes have to be looked for in several works, some of them voluminous and expensive. Yet it must be acknowledged, also, that what is given here of greatest importance may generally be found in any good modern Commentary; and is often presented there in a more full and complete form—as, for example, the variations of the Septuagint or the Syriac.

Two or three facts seem very clearly to present themselves, as we look through the volume. The first is the generally unimportant character of the various readings of the Old Testament, at least in the Hebrew MSS. This is strong evidence of the care with which the Jews have preserved their Scriptures. Josephus, as we know, tells us that no one to his time had ever ventured to add to, or take away from, or alter, their sacred books, and that his countrymen would even cheerfully die for them, if it were needful. And so it would really seem to have been in all ages, and the fact may shew us the superior claim which the Hebrew text, as the rule, has over any version, as the representative of what was originally written by the several authors. We have the strongest evidence which we could have that the Hebrew has been carefully preserved. On the other hand, we know that the versions, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and even the Syriac, have been exposed to great carelessness on the part of transcribers, and have, in fact, been much corrupted.

Again, this work shews us how little need there is, on the whole, to depart even from the received text of Van der Hooght. Dr. Davidson has but few instances, comparatively, in which he puts the reading of any other authority in the first place. And thus, although no Old Testament Griesbach, or Lachmann, may ever present himself, we may, generally speaking, be well satisfied with our Hebrew Scriptures, even as they stand. This feeling is confirmed by another consideration. Since the days of Houbigant and Bishop Lowth, the knowledge of the Hebrew language has greatly advanced; and, as a consequence, peculiar readings and forms which seemed to the scholars of that time to be mere corruptions and to require emendation, have, in the hands of a Gesenius, been found to belong, in some way, either to the idiom of the language, or to the roughness of style and other imperfection of ancient writers, little careful about elegance or completeness of expression. Hence the greater and greater distaste for conjectural changes, and the tendency to adhere closely to the Masoretic text as it is.

Even where the Septuagint and one or two other ancient versions agree against the Hebrew, it may be a question which is to be preferred. The original, as the *original*, is always entitled to great consideration. There is, however, one case in which few would hesitate to depart from the Hebrew. That is where one or two of the versions—suppose the Septuagint and the Syriac—agree in giving a word more suitable to the context than the actual reading, and evidently representing a Hebrew word *like* the one which now stands in the text, and which may, therefore, easily have been written by mistake for the genuine word now preserved or expressed only in the versions. We refer for an instance to the beginning of the last verse of Joel, where the Hebrew as it stands gives but little sense. The Septuagint and Syriac suggest, however, that the original was נַקֹּתִי, instead of the present נִקֵּיתִי, and the change would give an easy and appropriate meaning. This instance is not noticed by Dr. Davidson. Such cases are, however, among the most interesting various readings, and a work which brought them all together—all, at least, in which the versions gave what seemed to be *decidedly preferable* to the Hebrew—would be a work possessed of a distinct value and interest. A mere list, like the one before us, of variations drawn from all sources, good and bad,—of variations, very few indeed of which have any claim to be regarded as better than the common text,—is of quite inferior worth. What we want is, the readings which, in the judgment of competent scholars, are clearly to be preferred, leaving all others to their merited obscurity. We suspect that but a very small volume would be required to contain the variations of the kind now referred to, even including all the really important readings found either in Hebrew MSS. or Hebrew writers from the Talmuds downwards.

The Sunday-School and Young Family Service Book, containing a Short Religious Service for each Sunday in the Month. To which are prefixed some Remarks on the use of Forms. 3rd Edition. Pp. 120. Whitfield.

The new edition of this excellent manual, prepared by a zealous and accomplished friend of Sunday-schools, contains a supplementary service, which embodies a short Form of Prayer fit for use in a school on occasions when there may be reasons for dispensing with the regular and longer form. There are many weighty reasons for the adoption of prepared forms of prayer in Sunday-schools, and where they are so drawn up as to enlist the minds and voices of the children in the service, they may be expected to produce the best effects. There are, we know, strong prejudices in the minds of Dissenting school conductors against prepared forms, but the growing demand for this little volume shews that the prejudice is diminishing. Those who wish to see the subject discussed calmly and ably, should read the address to the conductors of Sunday-schools prefixed to this volume. The services themselves are simple, scriptural and varied. They are such as children may understand and feel, and older persons may join in the use of them with advantage.

INTELLIGENCE.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY REFORM.

There is not much ground for congratulating the friends of reform in the Universities of England on its progress during the present session of Parliament. From certain statutes ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, Feb. 21, 1856, it would appear as if the liberal intentions of the Legislature in the Act which they passed during the session of 1854 for the reform of the University of Oxford, were about to be nullified by recent proceedings within some of the Colleges. If, as there is reason for fearing, all the Colleges that compose the University follow the example of exclusiveness now set them, the University will not only be for ever closed to Dissenters, but will be ruled by an iron rod of priestly intolerance. In accordance with the Act (17 and 18 Vict., c. 81), the several Colleges are authorized and required to prepare regulations and ordinances in amendment of their several statutes. These must be approved by the Commissioners appointed under the Oxford University Act, and then copies of the statutes are laid before both Houses of Parliament. It appears that three of the Colleges at Oxford have revised their statutes. How far they have sought to bring their several institutions into harmony with the Act of 1854, a few particulars will suffice to shew. First let us see what that ancient and important house, Exeter College, says. This was founded by the Bishop of Exeter in 1316, and its endowment was enlarged by Sir W. Petre, Knt., in 1565, "for the increase of sound learning, and for the common profit of the church of Christ and of this realm, and of the subjects of the same." The ruler of this College, entitled the Rector, is vested with very large powers. Contrary to the spirit of the Act of 1854, it is declared that he must be "a priest of the Church of England." It seems that this ordinance has reference to the capacity of the Rector to enjoy the vicarage of Kidlington, which is annexed to the Rectorship. Residence at Kidlington is, during vacation time, to be reckoned as part of the eight months' residence within the College required from the Rector.—The Fellows of Lincoln College must by the new statutes be "members of the Church of England, or of some church in communion with it." One of the fellowships, entitled the "Chaplain Fellowship," is to be at the disposal of the "Dean and Chapter of Exeter." Within fifteen years of his election, every Fellow must take holy orders, or lose his fellowship. *Any Fellow found guilty of any contradiction, by word or writing, of the Christian faith as held by the Church of England, or ceasing to be a member of the Church of England, may, on the Petition of the College, and after investigation by the Visitor, be deprived of his fellowship.* Now when we add that the Visitor of the College is the *Bishop of Exeter*, it will be at once perceived what large powers of religious persecution are conferred by this statute. The Sub-Rector is also to be in priest's orders. None but members of the Church of England shall be eligible to any of the scholarships of Exeter College. Mention has already been made of the Visitorship of the Bishop of Exeter. To this officer large and undefined powers are assigned—e. g. "To the Visitor belongs the interpretation of all doubts as to the meaning and construction of the statutes;" and his interpretations are to be final and unquestionable by any member of the Society.

It is not without surprise that we find statutes like these, setting at naught in this open manner the Act of Parliament of 1854, sanctioned by the Commissioners under that Act. But they received that necessary confirmation on October 9, 1855, after the regulations and ordinances had been considered by them. When it is remembered that these Commissioners were named by a liberal Government, professing its desire to amend the Universities, and to open them to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, it will at once become apparent that there is good reason for the demand now made by Mr. James Heywood and those liberal Members of Parliament who act with him in promoting University Reform, that the Cambridge Commissioners shall have at least one Nonconformist representative amongst them.

The second College whose revised statutes Parliament has printed, is Lincoln College. The Visitor is the Bishop of Lincoln, and he is gifted with the same powers of interpretation as are

awarded to his brother of Exeter in that College. The Rector and Fellows are to be members of the Church of England. The authorities of Lincoln have taken the opportunity of the revision of their statutes to insert a clause infinitely more dangerous to religious liberty than anything hitherto known to be contained in the University or College statutes. We give it in the words of the "Regulations and Ordinances:" "Moreover, if it become known to the Rector and the majority of the Fellows that any Fellow has maliciously and contumaciously favoured any heretical opinion in public or private, he shall be removed from our College for ever, unless within six days he submits himself to the Rector, and humbly undergoes correction." This regulation is worthy of an inquisitor of Spain, rather than of the governors of a Protestant College. It is not necessary that the peccant Fellow shall have originated a heresy; if he is only known to *favour* any existing heretical opinion, he is instantly removable. No public declaration of heresy is required to bring him within the powers of this fearful clause; a casual hint dropped at a friend's table may sever him for ever from the College, unless within six days after admonition he submits to the rulers of his faith, and with a dutiful prostration of intellect undergoes rectorial correction!

The final clause of the Lincoln statutes is in its way a curiosity. It is a sort of indefinite saving clause to protect the Rector and Fellows from any inconvenient consequences that may, though now unperceived, follow the new regulations. "We enact, moreover, that the *interests* of the Rector and Fellows for the time being shall remain safe and without detriment, these statutes notwithstanding." Nor will it be believed that University men could give "interests," the word in the clause which we have italicised, as the translation of *jura* (rights), the word found in the Latin copy of the revised statutes. Their rights and what they conceive to be for their interest, may be, in other minds at least, very different things. The new statutes of Lincoln College also received the approval of the Commissioners, after they had been previously submitted to them for revision.

The third College whose statutes are before us is Corpus Christi, founded by Richard Fox, who in the foundation-deed quaintly entitled his College "a hive," and expressed his purpose that the students therein might, like skilful bees, both night and day produce wax to the glory of God, and sweet honey to the advantage of themselves and all Christians. The head of this College is styled President, and is to be in priest's orders. Many of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College were desirous that the restriction of compulsory ordination for their President might be omitted in the revised statutes, but the Commissioners interposed and insisted on maintaining this clerical monopoly. Every Fellow is at the time of his admission to declare that he is willing to conform to the rites and sacraments of the Church of England. If the President or any Fellow of the College secede from the Church of England, the Visitor shall immediately remove him from the College. Probationers and scholars (as well as Fellows) charged with heresy (which stands in the ordinances the first of a long list of offences), in the opinion of a tribunal, consisting of the President, Vice-President, &c., may be deprived of their places in their College, without any remedy beyond an appeal to the Visitor. And these statutes were also confirmed by the Commissioners on the 9th of October, the day on which they were presented.

From the harsh and exclusive ecclesiastical spirit which pervades all these statutes, there can be little doubt of the existence of an organized conspiracy amongst the several Colleges of Oxford to defeat the liberal intentions of Parliament. They do not deny the right of any Nonconformist to enter the University, but they exclude him from one after another of the Colleges. Now as the Colleges and Halls are the only existing portals giving admission to the University, they have only to go on in the spirit of Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus Christi Colleges, and the Act of Parliament of 1854 will become so much waste paper. There is one mode left of preventing these ingenious regulations from becoming law, viz. the privilege allowed by the Oxford University Act of 1854, of an appeal from the House of Commons to the Crown against the revised statutes. We are glad to inform our readers that this necessary step has not been neglected. Lord Palmerston has responded to the appeal, by referring the subjects in dispute to the Privy Council, and a select committee of that body is appointed to consider the petitions presented to Her Majesty in Privy

Council relative to the revised Oxford statutes. Among these petitions, we give the following in extenso, to explain some of the important points now submitted to the select committee.

To the Queen's Majesty in Privy Council.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Members of the Executive Committee of the Association for the Reform of Educational Endowments:

Sheweth,

That the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission by the Oxford University Act of 1854, was intended by the Legislature to assist in the introduction and progress of those Reforms in the University and Colleges of Oxford which time and circumstances had rendered absolutely necessary, in order to increase the utility of such academical institutions.

That the provisions of the Oxford University Act of 1854 practically removed compulsory religious tests from the commencement and termination of the undergraduate career at Oxford, and that the present edition of the Exeter College Statutes laid before Parliament, introduces a new compulsory religious test into the middle of the undergraduate career in that College, by directing that no persons shall be eligible for College Scholarships but members of the Church of England, or of some church in communion with the Church of England, while the University Act of Parliament of 1854 provided that it shall not be necessary for any person, either at Matriculation or on taking the first or Bachelor's degree in Arts, Law, Medicine or Music, to make any declaration whatever.

That the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England still form a part of the public examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, and that by the University Statutes the Tutors of Colleges are directed to instruct their pupils in these Articles of Religion; but that since the passing of the Oxford University Act of 1854, a University Statute has been agreed to at Oxford, that in any case where a Head of a College shall certify that any one of the students of his College is not a member of the Church of England, such student shall be examined in some other subject in place of the Thirty-nine Articles for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

That provision ought to be made in the Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus Christi College Statutes, for the substitution of some subject of College instruction in the place of the Thirty-nine Articles for students of those Colleges who may not be members of the Church of England.

That the educated laity of this country are not fairly treated either by the restriction of the Headships of Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus Christi Colleges to priests of the Church of England, or by the arrangements of compulsory ordination for Fellowships, in consequence of which the governing bodies of each of these Colleges will probably be clerical.

That by the Statutes of Exeter College, all members of the College are required, during residence, to attend divine service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, except, in any special case, attendance be dispensed with, for causes to be approved by the College; that by the Statutes of Lincoln College, all the Fellowes and other inmates of the College, during residence, are to be present every day in full term, at the reading of the Church-of-England prayers; and by the Statutes of Corpus Christi College, all persons present in the College are bound to attend frequently at the prayers to be read in full term every morning and evening in the chapel; that, in modern times, Fellows of Colleges and other resident Graduates not in office practically please themselves as to attendance or non-attendance at chapel prayers, and that the revival of these ancient monastic regulations, including nominally the whole of the resident members of each College, may probably be especially intended to refer to the undergraduate students, and that some provision should be made either to exempt those students who are not members of the Church of England from attendance at the Church-of-England prayers, or the form of prayers read in the College chapel should be revised, so as to adapt the daily College religious worship to the case of students of different religious denominations.

That public opinion in this country at the present day clearly favours a fairer distribution of College rewards at Oxford among lay and divinity students, and insists on the opening of the undergraduate education in the University and Colleges of that seat of learning.

That in the Oxford University Act of 1854, Parliament intended to carry out the expression of public opinion, so far as it related to the opening of the undergraduate course of education at Oxford, but that the present edition of the Statutes of Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus Christi Colleges, appears to your petitioners to have been framed with the view of frustrating the intentions of the Legislature, by ignoring the existence of

students to be admitted into Oxford Colleges without being necessarily members of the Church of England, and by closing the Colleges against the possibility of permitting any students who are not members of the Church of England to reside within their walls.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that a Select Committee of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council may so revise the Statutes of Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus Christi Colleges, as to bring the regulations and ordinances of those ancient Institutions into harmony with the manifest spirit of the Legislature in the Oxford University Act of 1854.

(Signed)

Robert N. Philips, High Sheriff, Chairman.
Edward Frankland, Ph.D., F.R.S., Owens' College, Deputy Chairman.
James Heywood, M.P., F.R.S.
Mark Philips, the Park, near Manchester.
Thos. Ashton, M.D., Mosley Street, ditto.
Edmund Potter, ditto.
Octavius Allen Ferris, Victoria Park, ditto.
Robert Angus Smith, Ph.D., F.C.S., ditto.
Francis Tucker, B.A., Old Trafford, ditto.
Wm. McKerrow, D.D., Greenheys, ditto.
Thomas Baker, Sherton House, Old Trafford, ditto.
R. W. Smiles, 80, King Street, ditto.
Robert Vaughan, D.D., Lancashire Independent College.
John Fildes, Councillor, Manchester.
James Edwards, Brown Street, ditto.
J. G. Greenwood, B.A., Owens' College, ditto.
Alexander McDougall, Councillor, ditto.
Henry Halford Jones, F.R.A.S., ditto.
R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Dukinfield.
Samuel Robinson, Dukinfield and Wilmslow.
Robert Hyde Greg, J.P., Norcliffe Hall, Cheshire.
Albert Greg, B.A., Caton, Lancaster.
Richard Aspden, Councillor, Manchester.

REFORM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The Report presented by the Commissioners appointed in 1850 to inquire into the constitution and state of the University of Cambridge, disappointed the expectations of those who, trusting to such men as Sir John Romilly, Professor Sedgwick and Sir John Herschell, expected from them the recommendation of a larger measure of University Reform. The Bill introduced last session, making no advance beyond the recommendations of the Commissioners, was disapproved of by the majority of that body; for those gentlemen, influenced by the bolder measure proposed and carried for the sister University of Oxford, wished an uniform and liberal system to prevail in both Universities. The present session has produced a new Bill, now before us, prepared and brought in by Mr. Bouverie and Lord Palmerston. The experience derived from Oxford makes us critical as to the Commissioners into whose hands the working of the Act (should it pass) will be entrusted. They are the Bishops of Lichfield and Chester, Lord Stanley, Mr. Baines, Sir W. P. Wood, Sir Laurence Peel, Dr. Peacock and Dr. C. J. Vaughan. The names do not, as a whole, inspire us with any large amount of confidence, or lead us to expect much progress.

The Bill proposes to abolish the powers now possessed by the Caput Senatus, and to establish in its place a Council (in part elective), from which alone all matters for the consideration of the Senate are to emanate. The Council is to consist of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, four Heads of Colleges, four Professors of the University, and eight members of the Senate,—all, except the two first, elected by the members of the Senate.

In a subsequent part of the Bill, all oaths and declarations upon matriculation and graduation are abolished; but, strange to say, a clause is added limiting the members of the Senate, and the persons entitled to hold any office for which a Cambridge degree is a qualification, to such graduates as shall subscribe a declaration to the effect that they are bonâ-fide members of the Church of England.

The Bill proposes also to abolish all oaths binding the juror not to disclose any matter relating to his College, or to resist any change in the statutes of the University or College, &c. It also gives powers to the Vice-Chancellor to license members of the Senate of a certain standing or qualification to open Halls for the reception of students, and the terms and conditions on which the masters of private Halls shall receive their licences are to be fixed by an University statute. If the University neglects this duty, then it will be incumbent on the Commissioners to frame the necessary statutes. Colleges and the University have the power of making new statutes. Such new statutes must have the approbation of the Queen in Council.

That this Bill is a bold or satisfactory measure of University Reform, cannot be truly alleged. As a settlement of the question between the University of Cambridge and the great body of English Nonconformists, it is utterly unsatisfactory, and quite unworthy of a liberal Administration. Why are Dissenters excluded from the Senate? Why are they to be denied participation in those offices, either in the University or in any endowed College or Grammar-school, for which they may have shewn fitness? Rather than a Bill containing so obnoxious a clause should pass, we would have the whole question postponed until a bolder spirit of reform animates the Queen's Government. But we trust that a majority of the House of Commons will be found ready to reject a clause so little consonant to the principles of religious liberty. May the decision of Parliament be satisfactory to the true friends of learning and religious freedom!

THE CHURCH OF THE DIVINE UNITY, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Since our last notice of this building (Vol. X. pp. 297—309), a corresponding window to the one originally erected to the south of the large window at the west front, has been opened on to the north, completing the harmony and beauty of this religious structure. It has also been filled with stained glass,—a figure of Charity in the act of clothing a decrepid, aged man, whilst a boy is kneeling by his side in expressive thankfulness. The foliated portions of the window contain the lily, as also the Alpha and Omega; the base, an angel figure, with scroll, inscribed with the words, Matthew xxv. 34—36. The window is memorial, erected by the congregation in remembrance of Russell Blackbird, a faithful, zealous, untiring friend and member of this congregation. His name, with date of birth and decease, are engraven on it also.

Notwithstanding the decision of the Court of Chancery, 6th November, 1852, protracted obstacles were raised to completion of the conveyance of the old properties to their respective purchasers, by those who have throughout the proceedings opposed the wishes and resolutions of the congregation. Those obstacles overruled and cast aside by further decision of the Court of Chancery in February, 1855, final settlement was obtained, Nov. 10, 1855.

Subsequently to this last date, the various claims upon and liabilities of the congregation had to be ascertained; and the deficiency on the building, arising mainly from the unnecessary litigation which had been forced upon the society, was reported to a special meeting of the members, on Sunday, March 2nd, 1856, to amount to £464. 14*s.* 7*d.* A subscription was instantly and unanimously resolved to be entered into for its liquidation, few, if any, save the pastor, indulging the hope of its speedy accomplishment.

The second anniversary of the opening of the church was celebrated by religious services on the morning and evening of Good Friday, March 21st, the morning and evening of Easter Sunday, March 23rd, and by a soirée in the schools and church on the evening of Easter Monday, March 24th. The Rev. J. Panton Ham, of Manchester, preached most admirable and truly Christian discourses to delighted audiences on Good Friday. On Easter Sunday, the church was crowded by people eager to listen to Rev. W. H. Channing. Amply were they gratified by the moral and spiritual power and beauty of his expositions of scriptural truth. Monday evening, fully four hundred friends gathered to the social festival. The ladies of the congregation took this method of adding their contributions to the Building Fund, by providing the materials for the entertainment, and presiding at the tables for their distribution. Engravings, philosophical instruments, curiosities in literature and art, embellished the walls; whilst conversational promenade pleasantly occupied the assembled company for two hours. Adjourned to the church, the chair was taken by the Rev. Geo. Harris. A hymn of thanksgiving was sung; and then the Chairman announced, to the astonishment of all, to the almost incredulous ears of some, that, partly by the aid of some kind friends of his at a distance, partly by the collections, partly by the soirée, and mainly by the universal response made to his personal applications amongst themselves, the deficiency declared on the 2nd of March was no longer. It had been gathered; yea, more—sufficient had been raised also to discharge all the expenses of the anniversary, the total amount being close upon, if not quite, *five hundred pounds*. Great indeed was the excitement on this announcement. Numbers wept for joy. Congratulations were

earnest and fervent. Thanking them, thanking all, thanking God, on Mr. Harris resuming his seat, the choir burst forth with the spirit-stirring and freedom-inspiring song, "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea;" the whole assembly rose, many and many joining heart and soul in the chorus. The evening continued one of glad thanksgiving and impressive Christian fervour. The Rev. John Gordon, of Edinburgh, spoke excellently on "the old Nonconformity;" the Rev. W. H. Channing, on America, the doom and speedy destruction of its slavery, the duties of Unitarians, the beauty of this Church of the Divine Unity; the Rev. H. V. Palmer, of York, gave earnest utterance to truthful thought and practical admonitions. Deep regret was expressed and manifested at the absence of the Rev. J. P. Ham; whilst thankfulness for his services, and good wishes for his happiness, were passed by acclamation. Several excellent pieces of music were discoursed by the choir, and cordial thanks given to the Chairman, "conveyed," says the *Gateshead Observer*, "through Mr. Gordon and Mr. Channing, who congratulated him on the emancipation from debt of a structure which would ever be his noblest and proudest material monument." Prayer and benediction closed an anniversary, the remembrance of which, in the solemnities of its worship, the Christian truthfulness and spirituality of its exercises, and the gladdening announcement of the freedom of the church, the opening of which it commemorated, can never be effaced.

SOUTHERN UNITARIAN FUND SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society took place at the Unitarian chapel, Canal Walk, Southampton, on Good Friday, March 21st. The Rev. J. C. Means introduced the service, and the Rev. Dr. Harrison, of Brixton, preached a most appropriate discourse on the Cross of Christ, from Heb. xii. 2, "Endured the cross, despising the shame." From these words he shewed, in the first instance, that it was a striking evidence to the truth of Christianity, that the Cross, which was once the emblem of a most ignominious death, should now be regarded with reverence and respect; in the second place, that our Saviour voluntarily submitting to so painful a death was a convincing proof that he was no impostor; thirdly, that the Cross being selected as the emblem of Christianity, associated as it is with scenes of suffering and patient endurance, had exerted a powerful influence on civilization; fourthly, that it conveyed the great lesson that suffering is not invariably to be regarded as a mark of the Divine displeasure; and, lastly, that the death of Christ in this public manner was a decided indication of Divine Providence, preparing as it did the way for the great and crowning fact of Christianity, the resurrection. In conclusion, it was ably stated by the preacher, that there was one idea connected with the death of Jesus which, however prevalent it might be, did not appear to him warranted by any expressions in Scripture, viz., that it was a vicarious sacrifice. In his opinion, the Cross should be regarded, not as a device to excuse the full and proper discharge of Christian duty, but as a glorious symbol, by the contemplation of which every true believer might be animated to renewed efforts in the cause of Christian truth and virtue.

In the evening, the Rev. H. Hawkes conducted the devotional service, and the Rev. Dr. Harrison delivered an eloquent discourse on the preparations of Divine Providence for the advent of Christ, from John viii. 48, "Before Abraham was, I am," a passage which it was maintained ought to be translated, Before Abraham was, I am *he*, i.e. the Messiah. Putting this interpretation on the words, it was subsequently shewn what preparations had been made for the coming of Christ in the election of a peculiar people by means of their captivity and dispersion, by the destruction of their polity as a nation, and by the circumstances of the world at large, which evidently testified that Jesus appeared in the "fulness of time," and verified his own assertion, "Before Abraham was, I am he."

At the business meeting of the Society, the Rev. H. Hawkes filled the chair, and the Rev. E. Kell read the annual report of the Society, which included reports from the congregations at Chichester, Newbury, Portsmouth (High Street and Thomas Street), Newport, Poole, Wareham, Lychett, Lewes and Southampton. These statements were generally favourable, and indicative of zeal and activity. The report concluded as follows:

"And now, Unitarian brethren, we return our trust into your hands. We presume not to say that we have done

all that you could have wished us to do. Assuredly we have not done all that we ourselves yearned to accomplish; but we have endeavoured to do the little all which came within the scope of our limited powers. We meet you here for counsel and co-operation. May our zeal be animated and urged on to higher effort! May each holy desire be strengthened by Christian union! And may the spirit of our holy Master glow in every breast while we speak together of those things which concern eternal interests! 'Thy kingdom come,' was the prayer he taught. Let us act as those who have pledged themselves to be in deed and in truth his followers. To draw the children of God in the paths of purity to his Father's home, he poured out his blood upon the cross. His early followers counted not their lives nor their earthly stores dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy. And we, too, should prove by the freedom and entireness of our devotion to our Father's high command, that we have been baptized into the same spirit. Too often we complain that our churches do not prosper. Let us deserve to prosper; and, putting far from us each narrow, earth-born view of selfish joy, live for our highest good, our own true happiness, and we shall have peace and love—earth's highest bliss—that which shall make earth kindred with the skies, and fit her children for their high-born destiny. Then will our churches prosper. Then shall we "use the world" to taste the many blessings our Father spreads in flowery paths, which He in love prepares for us. Then will He draw us onward in His love, and we shall comprehend the worth of the rich blessings Jesus the Saviour left us when he said, 'My peace I give unto you.'"

After the reception of the report, on the motion of Mr. Berry, seconded by Mr. Burgess, — and a cordial vote of thanks to the Preacher, moved by Mr. Dixon, seconded by Mr. Sothcote,— Mr. Pinnock moved and Mr. Redward seconded—"That this meeting regards with great satisfaction the triumphant majority in the House of Commons on the second reading of Sir Wm. Clay's motion for the total abolition of Church-rates, and hopes that that important measure may pass unmutilated in its further progress through both Houses of Parliament."

The Rev. E. Kell moved, and the Rev. Thomas Foster seconded—"That this meeting has viewed with deep regret the departure of the conductors of the Borough-Road School from those enlightened and impartial principles on which it was first founded, and most cordially wishes success to the efforts of those friends of unsectarian education who are endeavouring to render the British Schools what they were originally intended to be, *Schools for All*."

Routine resolutions for the appointment of officers, and thanks for their services, were moved by James Silver, Esq., Mr. Hall, and other friends.

About fifty persons dined together at the Castle inn, under the able presidency of Dr. Longstaff; and the following sentiments, after that of the Queen, by the Chairman, were responded to by the gentlemen with whose names they are connected.

"Prosperity to the Southern Unitarian Fund Society," in connection with the Rev. E. Kell.

"Our best wishes for the prosperity of the Unitarian Churches in the Metropolis, and thanks to the Rev. Dr. Harrison for his services."

"Prosperity to the Sunday-School Association, and a hearty welcome to its representative, the Rev. J. C. Means."

"May Christian purity of heart and life ever characterize those who have received the truth as it is in Jesus"—spoken to by the Rev. H. Hawkes.

"The Fathers of our Israel," in connection with James Silver, Esq., of Bayswater.

"Our Christian brethren, the General Baptists"—responded to by the Rev. Thomas Foster.

"Prosperity to the Southampton Congregation," in connection with its treasurer, Edward Dixon, Esq.

"Our Friends at a distance," in connection with John Walker, Esq., of Brixton, who proposed the "Ladies," many of whom were present on the occasion.

After an afternoon spent in much Christian edification and harmony, the strangers were cordially welcomed to tea at the houses of members of the congregation.

E. Kell.

OBITUARY.

Jan. 30, at Bombay, of consumption, Mr. William H. Stannus, eldest son of the Rev. B. T. Stannus, of Sheffield.

Jan. 31, in the 80th year of his age, at his house, Cotham, Bristol, Mr. Thomas Thomas, formerly of Langadock, South Wales. Brought up by a good and pious mother, he was led at an early age to take an interest in religious subjects. He was educated as a Calvinistic Dissenter, but his thoughtful and benevolent mind was unable to rest in the faith of the Genevan Reformer; and as there was no sect of Nonconformists in his immediate vicinity whose doctrines and worship approved themselves to his judgment, he attended the services of the parish church of his native town, where he was actively engaged in trade. As his family grew up around him, he entered into business in Bristol, settling three of his sons there; and, some time after, he was induced to remove to that city altogether from Wales. The attendance of his sons at Lewin's Mead chapel, had led him to review his religious opinions, and to adopt Unitarian views of the gospel. And during the latter part of his residence in the Principality, he often rode, with his younger children, a distance of eight miles from his home, to worship with the little flock of Unitarians at Landyfane. Before he took up his abode in Bristol, he highly valued the opportunities which his visits afforded him of occasionally hearing the Rev. Dr. Carpenter; and after he became a resident, there was no more regular or serious hearer connected with the Lewin's Mead society. In the year 1841, he retired from business, with the respect and esteem, deservedly obtained during a long career of active exertion and unsullied reputation, of all with whom he had been associated. As the sun of life declined, he had the pleasure and satisfaction of beholding his numerous family happily settled, and most of them near him. In delightful intercourse with them and with their children, in the society of friends, in his garden, in communion with books, and especially in the study of the Scriptures, old age with him was calmly and cheerfully passed. Preparation for another world had never been forgotten by him in his busiest and most active and anxious days. And as growing years and increasing infirmities rendered him conscious of his approaching change, his conviction of the truth and value of the pure and simple form of Christianity which he had embraced in the vigour of his life, became brighter and stronger, even to the last hour of his earthly existence. His mortal remains are laid in the beautiful cemetery, Arno's Vale, near Bristol.

Feb. 3, at Taunton, aged 58, Miss Elizabeth Reed Owen. For a period of nearly twenty years she held the situation of Post-mistress in that, her native town; and by the ability, punctuality and fidelity with which she discharged the duties of that responsible office, she secured to herself in no common degree the entire confidence of the inspectors and superintendents of that important branch of the public service. The high principles which ever actuated her conduct, were very strikingly manifested in her treatment of the numerous clerks and subordinate officers of the establishment over which she presided. Whilst firmly but gently enforcing the punctual performance of their respective duties, with most generous and disinterested kindness she was careful to make such judicious arrangements for their comfort and accommodation, as at once materially facilitated the discharge of their laborious duties, and well entitled her to their grateful esteem. Her character was formed under the influence of early religious impressions, the powerful and benign effects of which were exhibited in her whole conduct in every stage and relation of life. Possessing the most kind and affectionate disposition, she felt, and on every occasion manifested, the deepest interest in the welfare of all whose privilege it was to be connected with her by the ties of kindred or friendship. Her generous and beneficent acts towards them, performed in the true spirit of Christian love, were often munificent, and known only to herself and the beloved objects of her kindness; whilst at the same time, in the promotion of every benevolent, philanthropic and religious object, her contributions were always promptly and liberally afforded. Those who knew her best can bear witness that the source of her highest gratifica-

tion was in the opportunity of diffusing happiness by doing good to others. Although not insensible to injury or unkindness, she possessed in a degree not often equalled the spirit of Christian forgiveness; and however grievous the wrong she had suffered, no sooner was she assured that it was repented of, than it was forgiven and forgotten. Whilst her known and acknowledged worth and amiable qualities attracted the warm esteem and affection of all who knew her, she entertained the most humble opinion of herself, and was keenly and sensibly alive to deficiencies which were scarcely apparent to others. In the long and painful illness which preceded her removal, she manifested, no less than in her whole life, the blessed influence of her pure and simple Christian faith, enduring her sufferings with unwearied patience and entire submission to the will of her Heavenly Father, and supported in the hour as well as the prospect of death by a firm and full reliance on his unpurchased grace and mercy. Her sufferings, severe and protracted, were mitigated (as far as human aid could avail) by the unwearied care and assiduous attention of one who had been the dearest friend and companion of her life, and who in her removal sustains a loss which in this life can never be repaired. Her dying moments were peculiarly calm and tranquil, soothed by the affectionate endearments of that friend, and by the presence of a brother, whose privilege it was to administer to her spiritual comfort during the last few weeks of her life, and to receive her last dying glance of peace and hope when her spirit returned to God who gave it. Her mortal remains were borne to their last resting-place by the clerks in her own office, who mourned in her the loss of a kind, considerate and faithful friend, and followed by one whose only adequate consolation under such a bereavement is derived from the assured conviction, that such dear and tender connections are not limited by time nor terminated by death, but destined for an eternal duration.

February 4, at her residence, Kingsdown, Bristol, Mary, eldest daughter of the late Sayer Walker, M.D., formerly of London. She was born at Bristol in November, 1776, at which time her father was preparing to resign his charge as pastor of the congregation assembling at Castle Green. At the age of six months, she and her brother were taken by their parents to Bocking, in Essex, the birth-place and family residence of their mother, the adjacent town of Braintree being the residence of their father's near relations. These two places were the favourite resort of the parents, and of these and their other children, during many subsequent years; but the chief interest attached to them was, that there the tie was formed between the parents which produced uninterrupted connubial happiness during the term of nearly fifty years. The father, surviving the mother, ever spoke of her as his "dearest earthly treasure."

"Made for each other," he had often heard
Fall from those lips perhaps he most revered;*
Blest in each other, as thro' life they passed,
These words were deem'd prophetic to the last."

After remaining about a year at Bocking, the parents removed to Enfield, in Middlesex, where the father undertook the charge of a highly respectable congregation.

The little Mary was left under the care of her maternal grandmother, who, reluctant to resign her charge, was permitted to keep her until she was about three years old. From that time, fostered under the sweet influences of maternal love, she became the object of increasing interest to her father, who saw the promise of a rather superior share of intellect, and watched its expansion as it gradually unfolded and was open to receive his instruction. In course of time, she and a sister, about a year her junior, were placed for tuition under a woman of superior endowments, who had established a school very near their father's house; thus they enjoyed at the same time the pleasures and advantages of home. But it pleased God to withdraw this companion of her childhood, in all the loveliness of opening youth, just as she at-

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* Rev. Thomas Davidson, pastor of a very numerous congregation of Dissenters at Bocking,—a man of eminent piety, dignified deportment and rare accomplishments for his day. He won the respect not only of his own people, but of those belonging to the Established Church. The Dean of Bocking was heard to say, "I look up to Mr. Davidson as my Bishop."

tained her 14th year. Soon after this mournful event, the family removed to London, Mr. Walker being obliged to relinquish the pulpit from failure of voice. Upon entering the Medical profession, his time was necessarily so much occupied, that there were but few opportunities for Mary to receive from him any direct tuition, but from his general conversation she was careful to imbibe all the advantages it was calculated to afford. In after years, her companionship was one of his chief sources of pleasure. In the midst of his own little domestic circle, it was his happiness to be found; and there, in the leisure he could command, the stores of knowledge were unlocked that had been accumulated in the past, and were continually receiving additions in a new scene of life. In his new profession he had introductions to the society of eminent literary men. On one evening in the week during the winter months, he resorted to the house of Sir Joseph Banks, which was open to the reception of foreigners, as well as Englishmen, of any literary celebrity, and he had other engagements of the same kind. Whatever he gathered in these circles suitable to communicate, were scattered by his own fireside. Every ear was open to catch the lively anecdote, or some observation upon the variety of character he had met with.

It was at this period that great political excitement prevailed, subsequent to the events that marked the French Revolution. He stood aloof from party, but looked on with a calm, philosophic eye, lamenting the rashness of some of the advocates of liberty as injurious to their own cause. His daughter imbibed these sentiments, and they operated upon her maturer judgment.

Reading was her favourite occupation from childhood, and her attention was directed to the best English authors. A new book in those days was a rare acquisition, and when on some occasion her father presented her with one, the delight she experienced was remembered in her latest years. Her character was formed, in its most important points, upon the model of that of her father. Its basis was Religion, and in this she ever had before her the example of her mother also—deep, fervent piety, which harmonized beautifully with that of the partner of her life as "they took sweet counsel together," and it sustained her under all the trials that were appointed her. In Dr. Walker there was an almost feminine tenderness of feeling; he could not bear that the humblest fellow-creature should be subjected to the slightest degree of oppression. It was the same with his daughter. The question of Slavery greatly interested her. She read everything that came before her on the subject, and the writings of her late highly-esteemed friend Mr. Estlin were perused by her with particular pleasure. On all subjects, whether religious, political or literary, she ever referred to her father's opinions and taste as her standard, and her own were equally appealed to in their turn. A correct judgment was a peculiar quality of her mind.

A resemblance to her father was also to be found in her physical constitution. In the early part of his married life, he suffered from nervous debility. Happily for himself and his family, it was confined to that period. Not so with his daughter. There appears to have been a strong original tendency in the system to nervous disorder, shewing itself at an early age in what was at the time, and for some years subsequent, considered as the effect of ungoverned temper, by those, but *only* those, who were happily exempt from experiencing the extreme sensitiveness of the nerves with which she was afflicted. In youth, it occasioned timidity and reserve, which prevented her, when in contact with bolder spirits, from maintaining her rightful position amongst her companions. Ever more or less subject to the influence of the disorder, there were periods during life when all pleasure in society, even that of her own family, was denied her; her favourite pursuits were neglected, and the faculties of the mind seemed to be in a state of stagnation. It is a great mistake to suppose that the companions of such a patient are the greatest sufferers: the wasted frame, the dejected countenance, shew that it is "no forgery of fancy, nor a dream of woes."

In the intervals between these attacks, the mind resumed its elevated tone, and was occupied with the study of many subjects. But as life declined, her sight became much impaired; she was obliged to relinquish a great portion of reading, and great deafness prevented others from supplying this privation. From this cause she was precluded from attendance upon public worship, which she had valued as a high privilege. Some persons, with this infirmity, are soothed by feeling themselves amidst their fellow-wor-

shipers; but to her (an eager listener) it would have produced the most painful nervous irritation. Her Sundays were therefore spent in the retirement of her home. The Bible was not only read, but studied, on other days besides the sabbath. The last work that she was able to peruse with her wonted attention was the first part of the "Spirit of the Bible," a great part of which she felt to be in harmony with opinions which she had long entertained. The second part came into her possession too late to be attended to. To shew the interest she took in works of importance, it may be mentioned, that when her hands became too feeble to support the weight of a book, and weakness of vision required it to be held close to the eye, she severed several from their binding and read them in parts. A Bible was one of them. The last work she was able to listen to was Discourses by the late Rev. J. G. Robberds, some of which she pronounced to be "beautiful." The Inquirer newspaper she looked to as a recreation after more serious reading on a Sunday, and when of no further use to herself, she was pleased to hear it was undergoing much improvement. The great questions which relate to the amelioration of the condition of the lower ranks of society, had her warmest sympathy.

The last year of her life was saddened to herself and many friends by a relapse into her former nervous condition. The mind, however, was still preserved. Absorbed as she appeared to be by her own painful sensations, yet she was ever thoughtful for others, expressing in affecting terms a continual fear of injuring the one dearest to her. Her inquiries respecting a valued friend who was laid on a bed of sickness, were unceasing, and during a short period of severe cold she was anxious to know if any additional provision had been made for the poor. Her last injunction to her own family was, to "Remember the poor." She outlived all the relations of her early years, with one exception. All her friends and companions departed before her; but she had formed a small circle of new ones, by whom she was esteemed and beloved. The respect with which she had inspired her servants, was evinced by their unceasing watchfulness—their faithful and untiring assiduity to assuage her sufferings, to the latest hours of her life.

No one could possess a firmer faith in the form of the religion she professed, nor feel its influence more deeply. During many months, she expressed an earnest desire to depart, and frequently spoke of one* (whose society she had been privileged to enjoy in past years, and whose memory she revered) as having expressed the same desire, when her days upon earth drew towards a close.

She contemplated and spoke of the great change with perfect composure. The future was not anticipated by her as merely a state of rest. She had formed more enlarged conceptions of it. She looked forward to the exalted privilege of a nearer communion with the holy Saviour—to be in union with all those she had most loved and honoured upon earth, through a state of progressive improvement—to higher and higher knowledge of the Supreme —of God, who is all in all.

A beautiful smile rested upon the countenance after death, which, might we dare attempt to penetrate the mystery, seemed an assurance that the blest spirit was already rejoicing at the attainment of its highest aspirations.

"They that have seen thy look in death,
No more shall fear to die."

April 4, Daniel Hutton, Esq., of Lower Dominick Street, Dublin, aged 55 years.

It is very gratifying, in our passage through life, when we hear so much of human depravity, and when our own observation and our own consciousness bear testimony so frequently and so strongly to its prevalence, to be able from actual experience to adduce instances of a contrary character, and to testify that it has been our happiness and privilege to know those whose lives have been consistently virtuous, and distinguished by the constant exercise of Christian kindness and charity. Such, in the opinion of the writer, and, as he believes, of all those who were intimately acquainted with him, was the late Daniel Hutton. Entirely unselfish, his constant thought was how he could serve or please others, not so as to attract notice, or to draw forth expressions of grateful acknowledgment, but secretly and in silence, the sole reward that he sought being the approval of his own mind and the gratification of his own heart. Actively engaged, as he was, in commercial pursuits, it might have been supposed that he could enjoy

* Mrs. Joanna Baillie.

but few opportunities of entering into the wants and wishes of those who had no worldly interests in common with himself; but it was his principle to make his private occupations subservient to the cultivation of a more enlarged benevolence. His was not an impulsive and morbid sympathy, but the regular and constant flow of kindly feeling, gratified by every opportunity of doing good that could claim the sanction of reason and common sense. That these latter qualities were his, his steady perseverance and gradual success in business may suffice to prove; while the high character universally given to him by those engaged in similar pursuits, sufficiently attests the honourable manner in which all his business transactions were conducted. In the relations of domestic life his conduct was exemplary, and his amiable temper conspicuous. That he was a good son, brother, husband and father, all those who knew him in those relations deeply felt; and could they now unite their testimony, it is believed that they would gladly bear it, to his tender love, his considerate kindness, and his willing and cheerful sacrifice of personal convenience to their comfort and happiness. His religious views were in harmony with those of his family. A Unitarian from conviction, he was a member of the congregation of Eustace Street, Dublin, of which his revered father had been the minister for a period of more than sixty years; but his faith, though firm, was untinged by bigotry: towards those who conscientiously differed from him, he never expressed, for he never felt, the slightest bitterness, but gladly gave to all, where he saw no sufficient reason to withhold it, full credit for that sincerity which was so marked a characteristic of his own mind. Peaceful was his end. With the utmost calmness he anticipated its approach, and with the truest resignation and most assured hope he committed his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it. J. B.

April 15, at the old family mansion of the Gaskells of Upholland, Ox-House Heys, in the vicinity of Wigan, highly esteemed by all who knew her, Mrs. Broadbent, in the 78th year of her age, relict of Thomas Broadbent, formerly minister of Park-Lane chapel, near Wigan. She was suddenly called away from this terrestrial scene. She had been taking tea with a friend in the immediate neighbourhood, and died in a few minutes after her return home. Her death, though alarming to the living, might be considered, in regard to the deceased, happy; for she was well prepared for so great a change, by Christian faith, Christian obedience, and the Christian spirit; and she had no pain or suffering, no lingering illness, no illness at all, no anxious thoughts, no fearful earthly frailties; but her day was passed, her evening was come, and she gently fell asleep in Jesus, under the guardianship of her heavenly Father, to whose holy presence her placid, benevolent spirit would ascend.

April 17, at his residence in Manchester, Mr. John Armitage, aged 48. His many personal virtues and his public services (though the latter were chiefly rendered in a foreign country) well justify more than a passing notice of his life and character. He was born Sept. 27th, 1807, at Failsworth, in the county of Lancaster, his parents being Cyrus and Sarah Armitage, whose deaths were recorded in the Christian Reformer for 1852. During his early childhood, his parents removed to Dukinfield, in the county of Chester. Here John Armitage was placed under the tuition of a succession of Dissenting ministers, chiefly those who ministered at the Old chapel in that village, amongst whom were the late Rev. Jas. Hawkes, Rev. Joseph Ashton, and the late Rev. John Gaskell. For a short time, when he was about nine years of age, he had the very great advantage of receiving instruction from the late Rev. Benjamin Goodier, who was at that time officiating to the Unitarian congregation of Oldham, but lived in Mr. Armitage's house at Dukinfield. Mr. Goodier's diary (portions of which were printed in the judicious Memoir of him drawn up by Miss Jane Roscoe) contains many pleasing references to his happy though brief residence here, and to his duties as tutor of the sons of his friend. The youth made rapid progress, though often compelled to change his instructor, and ceasing to enjoy direct instruction at a comparatively early age, when his father needed his services in the cotton factory. He had happily imbibed a strong taste for reading. There had been, while it lasted, true education of those vigorous abilities with which he was naturally gifted. He early developed a taste for poetry, and before he ceased to be a school-boy expressed some of the ardent feelings of boyhood in verses, which

at least were prized by the partial circle to whom alone they were shewn. In the years which immediately followed boyhood, his character was mellowed by the influences of a very happy home, amidst an affectionately attached domestic circle, the members of which, while their taste was refined by the influences of literature and music, were carefully trained in the principles of the pure, liberal and cheerful religion of Jesus Christ. His early tastes were beneficially influenced by the conversation and friendly sympathy of an elderly lady of cultivated mind and refined manners, who dwelt near his father's house. She judiciously and kindly encouraged his taste for literature, by lending him well-selected books, and conversing with him about them when he had read them. Such incidents deserve to be mentioned as an encouragement to others possessed of knowledge and taste to assist the young in their efforts at self-improvement. By assiduous self-cultivation, he made up for the deficiency of his early education, and through life was characterized by the variety of his information and the strength with which he clung to any principle which he had upon deliberate conviction adopted.

Shortly before he came of age, he accepted an engagement under the well-known mercantile firm of Philips, Wood and Co. He was sent by them to Rio Janeiro, where they had an establishment under the management of Mr. John Holland. To a young man less strongly fortified in moral and religious principle, residence in a South American city, where moral restraints are little acknowledged by any of the privileged classes, might have proved very injurious. Mr. Armitage passed through the ordeal unhurt, assiduously occupied in commercial duties, and giving his leisure hours to literature and the study of the political institutions and history of the remarkable country in which he found himself placed. His eye and taste were keenly alive to pictorial beauty, and he has often dwelt on the extraordinary beauty of the scenery about Rio. He agreed with previous travellers in regarding its Bay as surpassing anything that the world can shew. In the richness and variety of its objects and the agreeableness of its climate, he placed it before the Bay of Naples and the harbour of Bombay. He made Rio the subject of an early poem, of which he was not in after times proud; but its versification is easy, and the sentiments which it contains do credit to the independence of his character and his good sense. In the Preface, he ascribes his wooing of the muse to the accident of his being sent abroad "to one of the most beautiful and enchanting regions of the globe,—a land hitherto unsung, and yet teeming with poetical imagery." He thus alludes in the poem itself to the pictorial beauty of Rio:

"Within the shores of that far southern land,
Where 'erst the Indian wander'd wild and free,
A mighty city proudly gems the strand,
And of an empire claims the sovereignty.
Oh! lovely is the landscape ye may see,
Where Rio's turrets, cliffs, and convents white,
Stand on the margin of the azure sea!"

In the Brazils he stood for the first time face to face with the detestable "institution" of slavery. He observed it in all its phases with a watchful eye, and often in both prose and verse expressed his pity for

"— the lorn many from scorch'd Afric's plains,
Half clad, ill fed, oppressed by galling chains,
And sear'd, like oxen, with the burning brand,
That marks to whom each outcast appertains."

He drew the conclusion, from what he saw of the evils, direct and indirect, of slavery, that

"Brazil will curse this bane through ages yet unborn."

In a note, written at this time, upon the subject, he says: "The demoralization and insecurity which must exist in every country where the majority of the population consists of slaves, are too obvious to require any comment. There is also another reason which is often overlooked. Not only is slave labour confessedly dearer than free labour, but it has universally the effect of raising the price of free labour, and consequently of productions. Wherever slaves are, a certain degree of ignominy inevitably attaches itself to all manual occupations. Here, every man with a white, or rather a copper-coloured skin, belongs to the privileged orders. Labour is the province of slaves, and he is by birth a gentleman. Though without a vintem in his pocket, he has the soul of a spendthrift; and

his ideas are consequently so much above his station, that he is utterly precluded from matrimony. Thousands upon thousands of families who, through the instrumentality of their own exertions, might become useful and honourable members of society, thus condemn themselves to a life of voluntary celibacy, and starve on the scanty pittance afforded them by the labour of a few negroes, rather than demean themselves by industry."

He remained in the Brazils seven years, when his engagement with the eminent mercantile firm already mentioned came to a close. During the latter part of his residence at Rio, he composed a work on the recent History of Brazil, designed to form a continuation of Southey's History of that country, including the period from the arrival of the Braganza family in 1808, to the abdication of Don Pedro the First in 1831. During his residence in the Brazils, he enjoyed opportunities of intercourse with some of the leading politicians of that country, and had access to state documents. He also had occasion to visit the seat of the Cis-platine war, and was enabled from personal observation to estimate the manners and character of the wild inhabitants of that district. On his return to England, this work was published, in two volumes, 8vo, and was dedicated to Mr. Mark Philips, as "an enlightened Brazilian merchant, and an ardent and zealous friend to the progress of human intelligence in every country." The story of Don Pedro's reign and fall is ably and impartially told by Mr. Armitage, and nowhere else in the English language is this portion of the modern history of South America to be found.

He did not long remain in England, but proceeded in 1836 to the island of Ceylon, to join a mercantile firm of high respectability in that rising colony. This step materially and prosperously affected his whole subsequent career. In 1838, he married Henriette, the only daughter of John Jumeaux, Esq., an alliance which proved the source of much happiness to the close of his life. His commercial experience and active energy soon gave him wide influence in Ceylon. He could not be content to follow in a beaten and selfish track; but wherever he could open new paths to promote the intelligence and virtue of those amongst whom he had cast in his lot, there he was ready to work for the public good. He was chosen a member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon, and soon won his way to the foremost place in that assembly. Here the liberal principles of government, education and religion, which he had imbibed amongst the English Presbyterian and Unitarian body in England, furnished him with the means of safely and usefully guiding the policy of his Cingalese neighbours. The public spirit which he displayed was never tarnished by selfish aims. When compelled to oppose the proceedings of the Colonial government, he steered clear of every local faction, and by good faith and good temper won the respect of his political opponents. As a proof of the estimation in which he was held, we quote the words of a Colombo journal of Aug. 30, 1855: "Mr. Armitage left Colombo this morning, and proceeds by the next steamer to England; and whether he will return to Ceylon or finish his career in the mother country, it becomes the duty of the Governor to fill up the vacancy in the Legislature of the island which has thus arisen. For many years Mr. Armitage has been one of the most earnest members of the Council, and has throughout his career acted in a straightforward, honest manner. That we have from time to time differed from him in the views he may have taken of passing political questions, does not weaken our respect for him; for we believe that he has been actuated solely by considerations of duty in his conduct in Council. Fairly did Sir Henry Ward put it, when he said of him the other day, that what he had been called on to do, he had done *well*. The country has lost in Mr. Armitage an honest, upright man, one who had earned and was entitled to the respect of all classes." There is allusion here to the opinion of Sir Henry Ward, the Governor. He gave a parting entertainment in honour of Mr. Armitage, and in speaking of him said, "As a merchant, he has set an example of integrity and enterprize, which I know have drawn recently from Lord Dalhousie, no mean judge of merit and capacity, very flattering proofs of the estimation in which he holds Mr. Armitage."

The public objects to which Mr. Armitage devoted his attention, were the improvement and increase of education, the multiplication of roads and means of traffic between different parts of the island, the abolition of all unnecessary and burthensome tolls and

drawbacks on commercial freedom, the growth of products suitable to the climate and affording a prospect of profitable exportation (such as coffee, cinnamon, &c.), and the draining of morasses and bringing them into profitable cultivation. In all these objects his labours were rewarded with a large amount of success. The exports of the island expanded enormously, and the intelligence and prosperity of the native population were greatly improved. He served for several years the Belgian Government as their Consul in Ceylon, and also discharged the responsible duties of one of the Directors of the Bank.

Nothing more won for him the confidence of the people of Ceylon, than his impartial treatment of all classes, rich and poor, white and black. His humanity was often proved. A year or two before he quitted the island, a vessel was taking Malabar Coolies back to their home, to which they were returning after a long and toilsome residence, carrying with them their well-earned savings. A dreadful gale arose, and the poor creatures, in their terror, spite of remonstrance, rushed on deck, and, in their eagerness to escape, capsized the vessel. Out of a hundred Coolies, about sixty escaped to land, and got on shore about four miles distant from Mr. Armitage's house. There were women and children amongst the persons saved. All their little property went with the wreck. They were in a dreadful state of exhaustion and suffering. Had not he gone to their immediate relief, many of them must have perished. He provided at once for all their wants, and ultimately sent them all, at his own expense, in a Cingalese craft, back to their native country. Such deeds speak the Christian indeed.

He remained in Ceylon about nineteen years, only twice during that time visiting his friends in England. The climate, together with his unremitting toils, had now seriously impaired his health, and in the autumn of last year he prepared to quit Ceylon, with all his family, and return to his native land. The news of his intention to leave Ceylon excited amongst the principal native inhabitants profound regret. A public meeting was called in Colombo, very numerously attended, to express the feelings that prevailed of respect for his character and gratitude for his services. An address, such as was probably never before voted in Ceylon to an English gentleman, was unanimously agreed to. A testimonial of silver plate was also subscribed for before he quitted the island. When the principal native planters and merchants waited on him to present their address, amongst other things, he said to them: "Since my arrival in this colony, there has been a wonderful progress in the prosperity of the native trading community. Not only are they more opulent than formerly, but their numbers have increased tenfold. And what, I would ask, is the secret of your success? Simply this, that instead of relying on others and putting your trust in princes, you have trusted to yourselves, to your own economy, your integrity and your industry, and the result shews that your trust has not been misplaced. * * I fully believe that the prosperity of the industrious classes here is but in its commencement. If to this commencement I have been able to contribute a little, however feebly, it will be a pleasing source of retrospection during the whole of my future life." When Mr. Armitage reached England, towards the close of the autumn, his friends saw with regret that his health was seriously shattered. They hoped that time and rest would soon restore him. He established himself in Manchester, amongst his family connections and early friends. But the desired health did not return to him. After a succession of hopes and fears, and several months of increasing debility, he finally sank into the sleep of death, in the midst of his family, as gently and peacefully as if he were taking a short slumber. He was interred in the vault belonging to his family at the Old chapel in Dukinfield, and a suitable tribute to his memory was spoken by the minister of the chapel.

This obituary record has chiefly dwelt on his literary, mercantile and political character. It is due to his memory to state, that he was equally estimable and most warmly loved in all the more private relations of life. It was his privilege to cheer by his generous filial piety the closing years of his excellent parents. His prosperity did not make him forget early friends. All who had any claim upon him were remembered and served. His removal has cast a deep gloom over the social circle in which he was best known.

Unitarian Chapel Rochdale.